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THE

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

OF

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS,

Tranſlated into ENGLISH;

WITH

81485

NOTES and DISSERTATIONS.

BY

EDWARD SPELMAN, Eſq.

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THE

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

OF

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

THE conſuls of the following year, who were Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, and Marcus Minucius, entered upon their magiſtracy in the ſeventy firſt Olympiad, in which Tiſicrates of Croton won the prize of the ſtadium, Hipparchus being archon at Athens; and, during their conſulſhip, performed no action either of a military, or civil nature, worthy the notice of hiſtory (for the truce with the Latines gave them a long reſpite from foreign wars; and the injunction, decreed by the ſenate, againſt the exaction of debts, till the war, that was expected, ſhould be, ſecurely, terminated, quieted the diſturbances raiſed in the city by the poor; who deſired to be diſcharged of their debts by a public act.) However, they procured a decree of the ſenate to be paſſed, granting power both to the Latin women, who were married to men of worth, and diſtinction among the Romans, and to the Roman

women married to Latines, either to ſtay with their huſbands, or to return home; and it was, alſo, ordered that the male children ſhould remain with their fathers, and the female, and unmarried ſhould follow their mothers: For it happened that a great many women, through the affinity, and friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two nations, had contracted marriages in one another's cities. The women, having this liberty granted to them by the decree of the ſenate, ſhewed how fond they were of living at Rome: For almoſt all the Roman women, who lived in the Latin cities, left their huſbands, and returned to their fathers; and all the Latin women, who were married to Romans, except two, deſpiſed their country, and ſtaid with their huſbands: A happy omen foretelling which of the two nations ſhould be victorious in the war. Under theſe conſuls, they ſay, the temple was conſecrated to Saturn, upon the aſcent, leading from the forum to the capitol, and annual [1] feſtivals, and ſacrifices were appointed to be performed at the public expence: They add that, before this, the altar, built by Hercules, ſtood there, upon which, the perſons, who had the ſuperintendance of theſe holy cere-

Annotations on the Sixth Book.

[1] Ἑορτὰς. Theſe were the *Saturnalia*, which, after the reformation of the calender by Julius Caeſar, were celebrated on the ſixteenth of the calends of January (the ſeventeenth of December) They conſiſted of four days only, till [a] Caligula added a fifth, which he called *Juvenalis*. [b] Livy, alſo, places the dedication of the temple of Saturn, and the inſtitution of the *Saturnalia*, under theſe conſuls; *his conſulibus (A. Sempronio, et M. Minucio) aedes Saturno dedicata:* Saturnalia *inſtitutus feſtus dies.*

[a] Sueton. Life of Caligula, c. 17. [b] B. ii. c. 21.

monics

monies committed to them by Hercules, ſacrificed burnt-offerings, as firſt fruits, according to the cuſtom of the Greeks. Some hiſtorians write that this temple was inſcribed with the name of Titus Lartius, the conſul of the former year; others, with That of Tarquinius, who was expelled the kingdom: And that Poſtumus Cominius conſecrated the temple purſuant to a decree of the ſenate. Theſe conſuls, therefore, as I ſaid, had the opportunity of enjoying a profound peace.

II. They were ſucceeded in the conſulſhip by Aulus Poſtumius, and Titus Virginius: Under whom, the truce for a year with the Latines expired: And great preparations for the war were made by both nations. All the common people of Rome entered into the war willingly, and with great chearfulneſs: But the greateſt part of the Latines ſhewed a coldneſs to the undertaking, and were forced into it; the men of power in the cities, being almoſt all corrupted with bribes, and promiſes by Tarquinius, and Mamilius; and thoſe among the common people, who were diſſatisfied with the war, excluded from a ſhare in the public counſels: For ſuch of them, as deſired to be heard in their aſſemblies, could not, even, obtain it. Upon which, many, reſenting this uſage, left their cities, and deſerted to the Romans: For the men, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the power in every city, did not chuſe to put a ſtop to this; but thought themſelves much obliged to their adverſaries for ſubmitting to a voluntary baniſhment. Theſe the Romans received, and ſuch of them, as came with their wives, and children, they employed in defending the city, diſtri-

buting them among the centuries appointed for that purpoſe: And the reſt they ſent into the fortreſſes near the city; and, dividing them among their colonies, took care they ſhould create no diſturbance. All men being of opinion that the preſent juncture, again, required the adminiſtration of a ſingle perſon at liberty to act according to his own ſenſe of things, and ſubject to give no account of his actions, Aulus Poſtumius, the younger of the conſuls, was appointed dictator by his collegue Virginius: And, according to the example of the former dictator, created Titus Aebutius Elva his general of horſe. And, having, in a ſhort time, liſted all the Romans, who were arrived to the age of manhood, he divided his army into four parts; one of which he himſelf took the command of; another he gave to his collegue Virginius; the third, to Aebutius, general of the horſe; and left the command of the fourth to Aulus Sempronius, whom he appointed to guard the city.

III. After the dictator had prepared every thing, that was neceſſary for the war, his ſcouts brought him word that the Latines had taken the field with all their forces: And, preſently, others informed him that they had, by ſtorm, poſſeſſed themſelves of a ſtrong place, called [2] Corbio, in which there was a ſmall garriſon of the Romans; all of whom they put to the ſword; and, being maſters of the place, they made it the ſeat of the war. But the number of ſlaves, and cattle they found in the country, except Thoſe taken at Corbio, was not anſwerable to their expectation;

[2] Κορβίωνα. In Latin, *Corbio*, a town lying to the north of mount *Algidus*.

the

the huſbandmen having, long before, removed all they could of both into the neighbouring fortreſſes: However, the enemy ſet fire to the houſes they had abandoned, and laid waſte the country. After they had taken the field, a freſh army arrived at their camp from [3] Antium, the moſt conſiderable city of the Volſcian nation, with arms, corn, and every thing elſe, that was neceſſary for carrying on the war. This raiſed their confidence to a great degree, and gave them room to hope that, now the city of Antium had ſet the example, all the Volſci would join them with their forces. Poſtumius, being informed of theſe things, marched out, preſently, againſt the enemy, with a deſign to fall upon them before all their forces were aſſembled: And, having made a forced march in the night, advanced near the Latines, who lay incamped in a ſtrong poſt, near the lake, called [4] Regillus; and he himſelf incamped above them on a hill, that was high, and difficult of acceſs: Where, if he continued, he was ſure to have great advantages over the enemy.

IV. The generals of the Latines, Octavius of Tuſculum, the ſon-in-law, or, as ſome write, the ſon of the ſon-in-law of Tarquinius, the late king, and Sextus Tarquinius (for they happened, at that time, to be incamped aſunder) joined their forces; and, aſſembling the tribunes, and centurions, they conſidered with them in what manner they ſhould

[3] Ἐξ Ἀντίου. See the fifty ſeventh annotation on the fourth book.

[4] Παρὰ Λίμνην Ρηγίλλην. This is the *Lacus Regillus*, near which this remarkable battle was fought: [c] Livy ſays it lay in the territory of the Tuſculani; *ad* Lacum Regillum, in agro Tuſculano, *agmini hoſtium occurrerunt*. It is, now, called, [d] *Lago di S. Praſſeda*.

[c] B. ii. c. 19. [d] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

carry

carry on the war. And many opinions were delivered: For ſome adviſed to attack the troops, which, under the dictator, had poſſeſſed themſelves of the hill, while their fear continued; looking upon their taking that ſtrong poſt, as a ſign of their fear, rather than of their caution: Others, to draw a line of contravallation round the camp of the Romans; and, leaving a ſmall body of men to ſhut them up there, to march with the reſt of the army to Rome, which, as the beſt of their youth were, now, in the field, might, eaſily, be taken. And others adviſed to wait the arrival of the auxiliary troops both from the Volſci, and their other allies, and to prefer ſafer, to bolder meaſures: For, they ſaid, the Romans would reap no benefit from a delay: whereas, their condition would be improved by it. While they were debating, the other conſul, Titus Virginius, having marched, ſuddenly, from Rome the night before, came up with his army; and incamped apart from the dictator upon another ridge of a mountain, that was exceeding craggy, and ſtrongly ſituated: So that, both the paſſes, through which alone the Latines could make an irruption into the enemy's country, were, effectually, ſecured: The conſul incamping before the paſs on the left, and the dictator before That on the right. This encreaſed the confuſion of the commanders, who had nothing more in view than the ſafety of the army, and, alſo, their fear, leſt they ſhould be obliged, by lying ſtill, to live, ſolely, upon their own proviſions, of which they had not great plenty. When Poſtumius obſerved the inexperience of theſe commanders, he ſent Titus Aebutius, general

general of the horſe, with a choſen body both of horſe, and light armed men, to poſſeſs himſelf of a hill, which commanded the paſs, through which the proviſions were brought to the Latines from their own territories: And the forces, ſent with the general of the horſe, paſſed by the enemy's camp in the night; and, marching through the untrodden paths of a wood, gained the hill, before the enemy was aware of it.

V. The generals of the enemy, finding that the ſtrong places, which lay behind them, were, alſo, poſſeſſed by the Romans, and almoſt deſpairing of receiving any more proviſions from home with ſecurity, reſolved to drive them from the hill, before they had time to fortify it with a ditch, and paliſades. And Sextus, one of the generals, taking the horſe with him, rode up to them full ſpeed, in expectation that the Roman horſe would not ſtand their ground: But theſe, receiving the charge with bravery, he maintained the fight for ſome time, retiring, and renewing the attack. But the nature of the ground giving great advantages to thoſe, who were once maſters of the hill, and affording to thoſe, who attacked from below, nothing but wounds, and ineffectual labor; and freſh forces of choſen foot, ſent by Poſtumius to follow cloſe the firſt detachment, coming up to the aſſiſtance of the Romans, Sextus returned to the camp without being able to effect any thing: And the Romans, now ſecure in the poſſeſſion of the place, openly fortified it. After this action, Mamilius, and Sextus determined not to ſuffer a long delay, but, preſently, to decide the affair by a battle. The Roman

Roman dictator, who had, at firſt, propoſed to put an end to the war without an action, and founded his hopes of effecting it on the incapacity of the generals he had to deal with, now reſolved to ingage: For the horſe, that patroled in the roads, had taken ſome couriers with letters from the Volſci to the Latin generals; by which the former acquainted them that great numbers of auxiliary forces would join them within three days at fartheſt; and, after that, another body from the Hernici. Theſe were the conſiderations, that reduced the Roman generals to an immediate neceſſity of fighting, which, till then, they had propoſed to decline. After the ſignals for the battle were given on both ſides, the two armies advanced to a plain, that lay between their camps, and drew up in the following manner: Sextus Tarquinius was on the left wing of the Latines, and Octavius Mamilius on the right: Titus, the other ſon of Tarquinius, was in the center, where, alſo, the Roman deſerters, and exiles were poſted. And all their horſe being divided into three bodies, two of theſe were placed in the wings, and one in the center. The left of the Roman army was commanded by Titus Aebutius, general of the horſe, who ſtood oppoſite to Octavius Mamilius: The right, by Titus Virginius, the [5] conſul, facing Sextus Tarquinius: The center

5. Ὁ ὕπατος. Portus, and, after him, M. * * *, have thought it worth their while to obſerve that Virginius was not, actually, conſul; ſince, upon the creation of a dictator, the conſulſhip was ſuperſeded: Neither was he conſul, when [c] our author ſaid, before, that the dictator ordered *his collegue* in the conſulſhip, Virginius, to command one of the four bodies, ἑτέρας δὲ ΤΟΝ ΣΥΝΤΡΙΑΤΟΝ Ουεργίνιον ἔλαξεν ἀρχήν.

[c] c. 2.

was

was commanded by Poſtumius, the dictator, in perſon, who propoſed to encounter Titus Tarquinius, and the Roman exiles. The numbers of each army, when drawn up, were, on the the ſide of the Romans, twenty three thouſand ſeven hundred foot, and one thouſand horſe; and on That of the Latines, and their allies, near forty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe.

VI. When they were going to ingage, the Latin generals called their men together, and ſaid many things tending to incite them to fight bravely, and repeated their intreaties to that purpoſe: And the Roman dictator, ſeeing his people poſſeſſed with fear, becauſe they were going to encounter an army greatly ſuperior in number to their own, and deſiring to diſpel that fear, aſſembled his ſoldiers; and, placing near him the ſenators of the greateſt age, and the greateſt dignity, he ſpoke to them in the following manner: "The gods, by "omens, ſacrifices, and other auguries, promiſe to grant to "our commonwealth liberty, and a happy victory, in return "for the piety, and the juſtice we have ſhewn during the "whole courſe of our lives, and from a juſt reſentment "againſt our enemies; who, having received many great "benefits from us, being both our relations, and friends, "and, having ſworne to look upon all our enemies, and "friends, as their own, have deſpiſed all theſe obligations, and "brought an unjuſt war upon us, not with a view to diſ-"pute the ſovereignty, and dominion (for this would be leſs "afflicting) but in ſupport of the tyranny of the Tarquinii, "and to compel us, from being free, to become ſlaves to them.

" You, therefore, ought, both officers, and ſoldiers, ſince " you are ſenſible you have the gods for your allies, who " always preſerve our city, to behave yourſelves with bravery " in this battle; remembering that they give their aſſiſtance " to thoſe, who fight bravely, and, chearfully, contribute " every thing in their power to the victory; not to thoſe, " who fly from danger; but to ſuch, as expoſe themſelves " to it with perſeverance. You have many other advantages, " alſo, conducive to victory, already prepared for you by " fortune, but, chiefly, three, which are, of all others, the " moſt conſiderable, and the moſt obvious.

VII. " Firſt, the confidence you have in one another, " which is a thing, abſolutely, neceſſary to gain the victory: " For you are not to look upon yourſelves, as beginning, " this day, to be firm friends, and faithful allies to one " another, but your country has, long ſince, prepared this " happineſs for you all; you have been brought up together, " and have received one common education; you have " ſacrificed to the gods upon the ſame altars; you have " enjoyed many common advantages, and have experienced " many common evils; by which, ſtrong, and indiſſoluble " friendſhips are formed among all men; which friendſhips " ſhew themſelves when a battle, common to all, is to be " fought, in which the greateſt intereſts are at ſtake: For, " if you are overcome by the enemy, the conſequence will " not be that ſome of you will be treated with no ſeverity, " and others ſuffer the laſt of puniſhments; but all of you " will, equally, loſe your dignity, your ſovereignty, your " liberty,

" liberty, and, no longer, poſſeſs your wives, your children,
" your fortunes, or any other happineſs you, now, enjoy; and
" all the men of dignity, and authority among us will ſuffer a
" moſt miſerable death in the midſt of ſtripes, and torments:
" For, if our enemies, without having received any kind of
" injury, have accumulated on all of us indignities of every
" ſort, what ought we to expect from them, if they, now,
" overcome us; when they will reſent our having driven
" them from their cities, deprived them of their fortunes, and
" not ſuffered them, even, to ſet a foot upon the lands of their
" anceſtors? The laſt advantage we have over our enemies
" cannot be thought leſs than either of Thoſe I have men-
" tioned, if you conſider it properly; which is, that the forces,
" we are to encounter, are not ſo formidable as we conceived
" them to be, but far ſhort of the opinion we had entertained
" of them: For, except the auxiliary forces of the Antiates,
" you ſee no other allies preſent with them: While we ex-
" pected that all the Volſci, and many of the Sabines, and
" Hernici would have joined them; beſides a thouſand other
" vain fears we formed to ourſelves. But all theſe things
" were, only, the dreams of the Latines, founded on deluſive
" promiſes, and ineffectual hopes: For ſome of their allies
" have given over all thoughts of aſſiſting them, from a con-
" tempt of the incapacity of their generals: Others, inſtead of
" aſſiſting them, will pretend to do it, and conſume the time
" in feeding them with hopes: And thoſe, who are, now,
" preparing to aſſiſt them, will ſtay till the battle is over,
" and, then, be of no further uſe to them.

VIII. " But, if any of you are convinced of the reaſon-
" ableneſs of what I have advanced, yet fear the numbers
" of the enemy, a ſhort inſtruction, or rather their own
" remembrance, will teach them that they fear things not
" formidable. Let them conſider, in the firſt place, that the
" greateſt part of them are forced to take arms againſt us,
" as they have, often, ſhewn both by their actions, and their
" diſcourſes; and that the number of thoſe, who, willingly,
" and, chearfully, fight for the tyrants, is, extremely, ſmall,
" and not, in any degree, equal to our army. Secondly, that,
" in all ingagements, the braveſt, not the moſt numerous
" forces, gain the victory. It would be tedious to alledge,
" as examples, how many vaſt armies of Barbarians have
" been overcome by very ſmall numbers of [6] Greeks, ſo as to
" render the relations of thoſe victories, even, incredible to
" the generality of mankind. But, to omit other things,
" how many battles have you yourſelves gained with fewer
" forces, than your preſent army conſiſts of, againſt enemies

[6] Ελληνων. I look upon this word to have been miſplaced by the tranſcribers, and am convinced that the ſentence ought to be read thus; ὁσα Βαρβαρων στρατευματα ὑπερβαλλοντα πληθει μικραι πανυ Ελληνων κατηγωνισαντο δυναμεις. I thought this might allude to the victory gained by the Greeks at [f] Marathon with 10,000 men, over the Perſians, whoſe army conſiſted of no leſs than 300,000; a victory, which our author might, juſtly, ſay was ſcarce credible: However, I find upon examination, that the battle of Marathon happened above five years after this, viz. in the third year of the ſeventy ſecond Olympiad: But no hiſtory that I know of informs us that vaſt armies of Greeks were ever defeated by others conſiderably leſs numerous; which muſt be the ſenſe, if we read the text as it ſtands in all the editions, and manuſcripts; ὁσα Βαρβαρων τε και Ελληνων στρατευματα ὑπερβαλλοντα πληθει μικραι πανυ κατηγωνισαντο δυναμεις.

[f] Uſher, p. 96. Petavius, part. prim. B. iii. c. 1. Valerius Maxim. B. v. c. 3. Plutarch in Parall.

" more

" more numerous, than Thoſe you are, now, going to en-
" counter? It may be ſaid that you have, indeed, continued
" to be formidable to thoſe you have, once, overcome in
" battle; while you may be deſpiſed by theſe Latines, and
" their allies, the Volſci, becauſe they have never experienced
" your bravery: But you all know that your fathers have
" overcome both theſe nations in many battles. Can it,
" then, be, reaſonably, ſuppoſed that the condition of the
" conquered is improved by ſo many defeats, and That of
" the conquerors impaired by ſo many victories? What
" man of ſenſe will ſay this? I ſhould wonder, indeed, if
" any of you looked upon the numbers of the enemy, in
" which there are few brave men, with terror, and with
" contempt upon their own army, which is ſo numerous,
" and ſo brave, that none, exceeding it either in courage,
" or in numbers, was ever brought into the field in any of
" our former wars.

IX. " This, alſo, citizens, ought to be the greateſt in-
" citement to you neither to apprehend, nor avoid the
" dangers of the field, that the principal ſenators are all
" preſent, as you ſee, ready to ſhare the common fortune
" of the war with you; whom both their age, and the law
" have diſcharged from the ſervice. Would it not, then,
" be ſhameful for you, who are in the vigor of your youth,
" to fly from danger, while theſe, who are paſt that age,
" purſue it? That the alacrity of the old men, though
" unable to kill any of the enemy, ſhould lead them to die,
" at leaſt, for their country; and that your youth, which

" may

" may enjoy the double advantage of ſecuring your own ſafety,
" and gaining the victory, or, if that cannot be, of acting, and
" ſuffering with bravery, ſhould not induce you either to try
" fortune, or leave behind you a glorious reputation? Is it not
" true, Romans, that there have been many great, and won-
" derful actions performed by others, before your time, which
" no words can, ſufficiently, celebrate; and that your poſterity
" will hear, with improvement, many illuſtrious actions per-
" formed by their own anceſtors, if you gain this victory? To
" the end, therefore, that neither the bravery of thoſe among
" you, who are reſolved to do their duty, may be unprofi-
" table, nor the fears of ſuch, as apprehend danger more than
" becomes them, go unpuniſhed, learn from me, before we
" ingage, what each of them are to expect: Whoever ſhall
" perform any great, or brave action in this battle, and proves
" it by the teſtimony of perſons acquainted with that action,
" I will, not only, reward him, immediately, with the honors,
" which every man, upon theſe occaſions, is intitled to by the
" cuſtom of his country, but will, alſo, add to thoſe rewards a
" part of the public lands, and put him in a condition above
" wanting any thing, that is neceſſary for his ſubſiſtance. But,
" if a cowardly, and accurſed mind ſhall ſuggeſt to any one an
" inclination to a ſhameful flight; to this man I will preſent
" before his eyes the death he endeavoured to avoid: For
" death is better than life to ſuch a citizen, both for his
" own, and his country's ſake. And whoever is put to death
" in ſuch a manner, ſhall be honoured neither with burial,
" nor any other funeral rites; but, unregarded, unlamented,
" be

" be devoured by birds, and beaſts of prey. Apprized,
" therefore, of theſe things, go all, chearfully, to the ingage-
" ment, with ſanguine hopes, the guides to glorious actions,
" that, by this one battle, if attended with the ſucceſs we
" all wiſh for, you will obtain the greateſt of all advantages;
" you will free yourſelves from the fear of the tyrants;
" repay to your country, that gave you birth, the obliga-
" tions ſhe, juſtly, requires of you for your education;
" preſerve your children, who are yet infants, and your
" wives from the irreparable treatment of your enemies;
" and render the ſhort time your aged fathers have yet to
" live moſt agreeable to them: Happy thoſe among you,
" to whom it will be given to celebrate the triumph for
" this victory, while your children, your wives, and fathers
" receive you! But glorious, and admired for their bravery
" will thoſe be, who ſhall ſacrifice their lives for their country!
" For death is decreed to all men, both to the cowardly,
" and the brave; but an illuſtrious, and a glorious death
" to the [7] brave alone."

X. While he was diſplaying theſe incentives to valor, a kind of confidence, ſent from heaven, ſeized the army, and they all, as if actuated with one ſoul, cried out together, *Fear not, and lead us on.* Upon which, Poſtumius commended their

[7] Μονοις τοις αγαθοις. This is the only ſpeech in our author, that I could wiſh ſhorter. When I ſay this, I own that all the powers of eloquence are diſplayed in it. But I am afraid it will be ſaid, *non erat his locus.* It ſignifies little whether this ſpeech was, really, ſpoken by the dictator, or not: The only point to be conſidered is, whether it can be ſuppoſed that he, or any other general, ever made a ſpeech of this length, when his army was upon the point of ingaging. I cannot help thinking that the *imperatoria brevitas* is full as effectual to animate the ſoldiers, and more becoming the general.

alacrity,

alacrity, and made a vow to the gods, if the battle was attended with a happy, and glorious event, to perform great, and coſtly ſacrifices, and to inſtitute magnificent games to be celebrated, annually, by the Roman people: After which, he diſmiſſed his men to their ranks; and, as ſoon as they had received the word from their officers, and the trumpets ſounded a charge, they gave a ſhout, and fell on: Firſt, the light armed, and the horſe, on each ſide; then the lines of the heavy armed men, both armed, and drawn up alike; and all mingling, a ſevere battle inſued, in which every man fought hand to hand. However, both ſides were, extremely, deceived in the opinion they had entertained of each other: For, neither of them thought a battle would be neceſſary, but expected to put the enemy to flight at the firſt onſet. The Latines, confiding in the number of their horſe, concluded That of the Romans would not be able, even, to ſuſtain their ſhock: And the Romans imagined that, by ruſhing into the midſt of danger in a daring, and inconſiderate manner, they ſhould terrify their enemies. Having formed this opinion of one another in the beginning, every thing they ſaw contradicted it. Each ſide, therefore, founding, no longer, their hopes of preſervation, and of victory on the fear of the enemy, but on their own courage, ſhewed themſelves brave ſoldiers, even beyond their power. Various, and fluctuating was the fortune of the day.

XI. Firſt, the Romans poſted in the center, where the dictator Poſtumius ſtood with a choſen body of horſe about

about him, he himſelf fighting among the foremoſt, forced that part of the enemy, that ſtood oppoſite to them, Titus, one of the ſons of Tarquinius, being wounded in the right ſhoulder with a javelin, and, no longer able to uſe his hand (for [8] Licinnius, and Gellius, without inquiring into the probability, or poſſibility of the thing, introduce king Tarquinius himſelf, a man, then, near ninety years of age, fighting on horſeback, and wounded) Titus falling, thoſe about him, having fought a little while, and carried him off while he was yet alive, ſhewed no bravery after that; but retired, by degrees, as the Romans preſſed them. After this, Sextus, the other ſon of Tarquinius, coming to their relief with the Roman exiles, and a body of choſen horſe, they, again, ſtood their ground, and attacked the enemy: Theſe, therefore, recovering themſelves, fought again. In the mean time, Titus Aebutius, and Mamilius Octavius, the commanders of their reſpective wings, fought in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner, driving their enemies before them wherever they charged, and rallying their men when diſordered; then, challenged one another, and fought: And, in the conflict, gave one another grievous wounds, but none mortal; the general of the horſe, piercing the corſlet of Mamilius with his ſpear, lodged the point of it in his breaſt; and Mamilius running the other through the middle of his right arm, they fell from their horſes.

[8] Λικιννιος, και οι περι Γελλιον. See the twenty fifth annotation on the firſt book. I do not think it neceſſary to tranſlate a note of Caſaubon upon this occaſion, as M. * * *, and le Jay have done, in order to produce inſtances from hiſtory of ſeveral perſons, who have enjoyed great vigor at ninety years of age. But this I know, that, if I had tranſlated his note, I ſhould have owned it.

XII. Both of them being carried out of the field, Marcus Valerius, who had been appointed [9] legate, took upon himſelf the command of the general of the horſe, and attacked Thoſe of the enemy in front; and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, was driven far out of the line: For this body of the enemy had been, alſo, reinforced by a detachment of horſe, conſiſting of the Roman exiles, and by light armed men: And Mamilius, having recovered himſelf from his wound, appeared in the field again, and was come up with a ſtrong body both of horſe, and light armed foot. In this action, fell Marcus Valerius, the legate, wounded with a ſpear; the ſame perſon, who firſt triumphed over the Sabines, and raiſed the ſpirit of the commonwealth, ſunk by the defeat ſhe had received from the Tyrrhenians; and, round him, fell many other worthy, and brave Romans. Both ſides endeavouring to carry off his body, a ſharp conflict inſued, while Publius, and Marcus, the ſons of Poplicola, protected their uncle with their ſhields: However, theſe carried him off unſpoiled; and, delivering him to their ſhield-bearers, while he yet breathed a little, they ſent him to the camp: Then,

9· Πρεσβεύτης. I muſt deſire leave of the reader to tranſlate this word, *Legate*, whenever I meet with it. I find the French tranſlators have ſaid *Lieutenant*, and *Lieutenant Colonel*, which, by the way, does not give the ſignification of *Legatus*; ſince it ſuppoſes this officer to be inferior to the *Tribuni*, which he, certainly, was not. If I thought myſelf juſtified in giving modern names to all the Roman officers, I ſhould rather tranſlate *Legatus*, *a Lieutenant general*, which is more anſwerable to his poſt. It is well known that there were two ſorts of *Legati* among the Romans; the firſt, embaſſadors, and the other, military officers. The popes have preſerved the name of the firſt with the addition of *a latere*; vainly imagining that this pretence can intitle them to the ſame conſideration as the embaſſadors of ancient Rome.

throwing

throwing themſelves into the midſt of the enemy through fury, and ardor; and, having received many wounds from the Roman exiles, who attacked them, cloſely, on all ſides, they died together. After this misfortune, the line of the Romans was forced to give way; and the whole left wing was broken, even, to the center. When the dictator obſerved the flight of his men, he flew to their aſſiſtance with all the horſe he had about him; and ordered the other legate, Titus Herminius, to take a troop of horſe; and, paſſing behind their own lines, to force the men, who fled, to face about; and, if they refuſed obedience, to kill them; and he himſelf, with the beſt of his men, puſhed on towards the body of the enemy: And, when he came near them, he clapped ſpurs to his horſe before any of the reſt, and charged them with a looſe rein; and all his men falling on together in this terrible manner, the enemy, unable to ſuſtain the wild, and ſavage ſhock, fled, and many of them fell. In the mean time, the legate, Herminius alſo, having rallied thoſe, who fled, brought them up, and attacked that part of the enemy, that ſtood formed under Mamilius; and encountering this general, who, both for his ſtature, and his ſtrength, was the moſt remarkable man of his time, he killed him; and he himſelf, while he was ſpoiling the body, received a wound in his ſide with a ſword by ſome perſon, and fell dead. Sextus Tarquinius, who commanded the left wing of the Latines, maintained his poſt all this while in the midſt of dangers, and forced the right wing of the Romans to give way: But, when he ſaw Poſtumius advancing with the choſen horſe, he gave over all hopes, and ruſhed

into the midſt of the enemy's ranks; where, being ſurrounded by the Romans, both horſe, and foot, and, like a wild beaſt aſſaulted on all ſides with miſſive weapons, he fell; but not before he had killed many of thoſe, who attacked him ſword in hand. The generals being ſlain, all the Latines fled at once; and their camp, abandoned by the men, who had been left to guard it, was taken: In which the Romans found a very conſiderable booty. This was the greateſt defeat the Latines had ever ſuffered; the ill effects of which laſted very long, and their loſs was greater than any they had, before, ſuſtained: For, of forty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, as I ſaid, not ten thouſand men returned home in ſafety.

XIII. It is ſaid that, in this battle, two men, on horſeback, far excelling the offspring of human nature, both in beauty, and in ſtature, and juſt in their prime, appeared to Poſtumius, and to thoſe about him, and charged at the head of the Roman horſe, wounding with their ſpears all they encountered, and driving the Latines before them: And, after theſe were put to flight, and their camp taken, the battle being, now, over, two youths are ſaid to have appeared in the ſame manner, about the beginning of the night, in the Roman forum, attired in military habits, very tall, and beautiful, and of the ſame age, themſelves retaining the looks of combatants juſt coming from a battle, and the horſes they rode being all in a ſweat. When, each of them diſmounting, and waſhing themſelves in the fountain, which, riſing near the temple of Veſta, forms a ſmall, but deep baſon, many people ſtanding about

about them, and inquiring if they had brought any news from the camp, they related the particulars of the battle, and that the Romans had gained the victory. They add that, after they left the forum, they were no more ſeen, notwithſtanding the great ſearch, that was made after them by the governor of the city. The next day, when the perſons intruſted with the care of the commonwealth, received the letters ſent by the dictator, by which, among the other circumſtances of the action, they were informed, alſo, of the apparition of theſe gods, they concluded that the ſame had appeared in both places, as might reaſonably be imagined, and believed that the divinities, who had ſo appeared, were Caſtor, and Pollux. Of this extraordinary, and wonderful apparition of theſe gods there are many monuments at Rome, as the temple of Caſtor, and Pollux, which the Roman people erected in the forum, where they had appeared; and the fountain near it, ſaid to be conſecrated to them, and thought to be ſo to this day; and alſo the magnificent ſacrifices, which the people offer, every year, by the miniſtry of the moſt conſiderable knights, [10] on the ides of the month, called Quintilis, which was the day, on which they gained this victory: But, above all theſe things, the memory

[10] Εν μηνι Κυϊντιλιῳ. *Aux ides du mois appellé Quintilius*, ſays M. ***. There never was ſuch a month in the Roman calendar as *Quintilius*: He ſhould have ſaid *Quintilis*; afterwards called *Julius*, in flattery to Julius Caeſar, who was born in that month: On the ides (the fifteenth) of which was celebrated this proceſſion, called by the Romans, *tranſvectio equitum Romanorum*. [h] Livy attributes the inſtitution of this proceſſion to Fabius Maximus; *ab eodem inſtitutum dicitur, ut equites Idibus Quintilibus tranſveherentur.*

[h] B. ix. c. 46.

of

of it is perpetuated by a proceſſion, performed after the ſacrifice, by thoſe, who have a [11] horſe maintained by the public; and who, being diſpoſed in their tribes, and centuries, ride all in their ranks, as if they came from battle, crowned with olive branches, and attired in robes with [12] purple borders, and ſtripes of the ſame color, which they call *Trabeae:* They begin their proceſſion from a certain temple of Mars, that ſtands without the walls; and, going through ſeveral parts of the city, and the forum, they paſs by the temple of Caſtor, and Pollux, ſometimes to the number, even, of five thouſand, carrying all the ornaments they have received from their generals, as the rewards of the valor they have ſhewn in battle: A fine ſight, and worthy the greatneſs of their empire. Theſe are the things I find to be related, and performed by the Romans in memory of the apparition of Caſtor, and Pollux; by which, among many other inſtances of great moment, one may judge how much the men of thoſe times were cheriſhed by the gods.

11. Τον δημοσιον ἱππον. Inſtead of repeating what I have, already, ſaid concerning the Roman knights, I ſhall refer the reader to the twenty eighth annotation on the ſecond book. However, I cannot omit taking notice of a miſtake committed by M. *** in his note upon this paſſage. I think myſelf obliged to quote his words; *les chevaliers s'appelloient en Latin* equites, *de même que les ſoldats qui compoſoient la cavalerie Romaine: mais il y avoit cette différence, que ceuxci entretenoient à leurs frais le cheval, dont ils ſe ſervoient dans les batailles, au lieu que celui des premiers étoit entretenu aux dépens du public.* This difference is, abſolutely, chimerical. From the time of Romulus, to Marius, the Romans had no other cavalry but the knights, whoſe horſes were maintained by the public, and who conſtituted the equeſtrian order. This, I think, I have proved, in the annotation referred to, by ſeveral authorities; particularly by That of Livy, from whom I have there quoted a paſſage, which, to me, appears deciſive.

12. Φοινικοπαρυφες. See the 138th annotation on the ſecond book.

XIV

XIV. Poſtumius incamped that night in the field; and, the next day, he crowned thoſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the battle; and, having appointed guards to take care of the priſoners, he ſacrificed to the gods in thankſgiving for the victory: While he had yet his crown on his head, and was laying the firſt offering on the altar to be conſumed with fire, ſome ſcouts, running down from the eminences, brought him word that an army of enemies was marching againſt him: This conſiſted of the choſen youth of the Volſcian nation, who had been ſent out, as auxiliaries, to the Latines before the battle was ended. Upon this information, he ordered all his men to their arms, and that every one ſhould ſtay in the camp under his proper enſigns, keeping themſelves upon their guard, and in their ranks, till he himſelf ſhould order them what to do. On the other ſide, the generals of the Volſci, incamping in a place, where they could [13] not be obſerved by the Romans, when they ſaw the field covered with dead bodies, and the tents in both camps ſtanding, and that none of their enemies, or friends ſtirred out of their intrenchments, they were, for ſome time, amazed, and at a loſs to gueſs what turn of fortune had produced this ſituation of affairs: But, being informed by thoſe, who had eſcaped from the defeat, of all the circumſtances of the battle, they conſulted with their officers what was to be done. The boldeſt of them were of opinion, that the beſt thing they could do was

[13] Ἐξ ἀποπλῳ. As this word ſignifies *inviſible*, as well as *conſpicuous*, the tranſlators had their choice. I have given it the firſt ſenſe, which ſeems to imply greater caution.

to

to attack the camp of the Romans, while many of them were yet diſabled with their wounds, and all tired with the labor of the day, their arms uſeleſs, ſome being blunted, and others broken, and no freſh forces from Rome yet at hand to relieve them. On the other ſide, they ſaid their own army was numerous, full of courage, bravely armed, experienced in war, and, by appearing unexpectedly, was ſure to aſtoniſh, even, the boldeſt.

XV. But the moſt prudent among them did not think it ſafe, without allies, to run the hazard of attacking men well acquainted with military diſcipline, who had juſt defeated ſo great an army of the Latines; or to commit their greateſt intereſts to the danger of an ingagement in a foreign country, where, if any misfortune happened, they had no place of ſafety to retire to. Theſe adviſed, therefore, to provide rather for a ſafe retreat to their own country as ſoon as poſſible, and to look upon it as a great advantage, if they ſuſtained no loſs in this expedition. But others diſapproved of both theſe meaſures, and ſhewed that the eagerneſs for an ingagement was juvenile, and the ridiculous flight to their own country, ſhameful; and that either of theſe was the object of the enemy's wiſhes: Their opinion, therefore, was, that, at preſent, they ought to fortify their camp, and prepare every thing for a battle; and that, diſpatching meſſengers to the reſt of the Volſci, they ſhould deſire them to do one of theſe two things, either to ſend another army of equal ſtrength to That of the Romans, or, recal the forces they had, already, ſent out. But the opinion, that prevailed with

with the greateſt part, and received the ſanction of the men in power, was to ſend ſpies to the Roman camp, ſecured by the quality of embaſſadors, to ſalute the general, and acquaint him that, as allies of the Romans, ſent by the Volſcian nation, they were ſorry they came too late for the battle, as being intitled to little, or no thanks for their zeal: However, that they congratulated the good fortune of the Romans, in having gained a great victory, without the aſſiſtance of their allies. After the embaſſadors had impoſed upon the Romans by this officious diſcourſe, and prevailed on theſe to confide in them, as in their friends, they were to examine every thing, and acquaint the generals of the Volſci, at their return, with their numbers, the condition of their arms, and their preparations, and whether they propoſed to execute any deſign: And that, after they were, thoroughly, acquainted with theſe things, they would deliberate whether it were expedient to ſend for freſh forces, and attack the Romans, or to return home with the army they had with them.

XVI. After they had taken this reſolution, the embaſſadors they had choſen went to the dictator; and, being introduced to the aſſembly, they ſpoke in the deceitful manner they had been inſtructed. When Poſtumius, after a ſhort pauſe, ſaid; "You have brought with you, Volſci, "evil deſigns clothed with good words; and, while you act "like enemies, you deſire to appear like friends: For you "were ſent by your nation to aſſiſt the Latines againſt us; "but, arriving after the battle, and ſeeing them overcome,

" you want to deceive us, by pretending deſigns contrary to " Thoſe you, really, entertained: And neither the good- " will you expreſs, which you have calculated for the preſent " juncture, nor the pretence, under which you are come " hither, have any ſincerity in them; but are full of fraud, " and deceit: For you were not ſent to congratulate our " good fortune, but to examine into the weakneſs, or ſtrength " of our condition; and you are embaſſadors in appearance, " but ſpies in reality." And, when the others denied every thing he had charged them with, he ſaid he would ſoon convince them of the truth of it: And, preſently, ſhewed them their letters, which he had intercepted before the battle, to the generals of the Latines, in which they promiſed to ſend forces to their aſſiſtance; and produced the perſons, who were carrying thoſe letters. After theſe were read, and the priſoners had given an account of the orders they had received, the common ſoldiers were going to ſtone the Volſci, as ſpies taken in the fact: But Poſtumius thought that good men ought not to imitate the wicked; ſaying, it would become them more, and ſhew more greatneſs of mind to reſerve their anger againſt the ſenders, rather than againſt the ſent; and to diſmiſs the men, in conſideration of their apparent title of embaſſadors, rather than to put them to death in conſideration of their diſguiſed quality of ſpies; leſt they ſhould give a ſpecious color either of war to the Volſci, while they pretended their embaſſadors were put to death, contrary to the right of nations, or to their other enemies of propagating reports, which, though falſe, would appear neither ill-grounded, nor incredible. XVII.

XVII. Having, thus, put a ſtop to the fury of the ſoldiers, he commanded the men to be diſmiſſed, and to return [14] without looking back; and ordered them a guard of horſe, who conducted them to the camp of the Volſci. After he had ſend away the ſpies, he commanded the ſoldiers to prepare for battle, as deſigning, the next day, to ingage. But there was no occaſion for a battle: For the generals of the Volſci decamped in the middle of the night, and returned home. All things having ſucceeded to his wiſh, he buried his own dead; and, having purified his army, returned to the city, and celebrated a magnificent triumph, carrying with him heaps of arms on many carts, together with a great quantity of military ſtores, followed by five thouſand five hundred priſoners, taken in the laſt battle. And, having ſet apart the tenths of the ſpoils, he employed [15] forty talents in performing games, and ſacrifices to the gods; and contracted for the building temples to Ceres, Bacchus, and Proſerpine, in performance of his vow: For, in the beginning of the war, there had been a ſcarcity of proviſions for the army, a failure of which was, greatly, apprehended, the land having lain uncultivated, and the importation of proviſions been ſtopped, by reaſon of the war: Induced by this apprehenſion, he had ordered the guardians of the Sibylline books to conſult them; and, finding that the

[14] Ἀμεταστρεπτί. The Latin tranſlators might have rendered this word much better than they have done, by *ſine reſpectu*; as [i] Livy ſays of Philip, when he received a check from T. Quintius Flamininus, *Rex primo effuſe, ac* ſine reſpectu *fugit.*

[15] Τετρακοσίας ταλάντους. In our money, 7750 pounds.

[i] B. xxxii. c. 12.

oracles ordered theſe gods to be rendered propitious, he made a vow to them, when he was going to take the field, that, if there was the ſame plenty of proviſions in the city, during the time of his magiſtracy, as before, he would build temples, and appoint ſacrifices to be performed to them every year. Theſe gods, hearing his prayer, cauſed the land to produce abundant crops, not only, of corn, but, alſo, of fruit; and all foreign proviſions to be imported in greater plenty, than before. Which when Poſtumius himſelf ſaw, he ordered the temples to be built. The Romans, therefore, having, through the benevolence of the gods, repelled the war, brought upon them for the reſtoration of the tyrants, employed their time in feaſts, and ſacrifices.

XVIII. A few days after, embaſſadors came to them from the Latin nation, choſen out of all their cities (being the [16] ſame perſons, who had, all along, declared againſt the war) holding up [17] olive branches, and other marks of ſuppliants. Theſe, being introduced into the ſenate, firſt, accuſed the men of power, in every city, of having been the

16. Οι την εναντιαν εχοντες περι του πολεμου γνωμην. The two French tranſlators have ſaid, *qui s'étoient oppoſées à la guerre.* This every body, who underſtands French, will ſee relates to the cities, not to the embaſſadors; which is contrary to the Greek text, where it ſtands οἱ εχοντες, not οἱ εχσαι. And theſe embaſſadors ſay, in excuſe of the Latines, that their cities were influenced by the men of power, when they declared for the war; which men of power theſe embaſſadors had oppoſed.

17. Ικετηρια. [k] Livy will explain this Greek cuſtom: In giving an account of the ſuppliant manner, in which the Locrenſian embaſſadors addreſſed their complaints to the Roman conſuls againſt Pleminius, he ſays; *decem legati Locrenſium obſiti ſqualore et ſordibus, in Comitio ſedentibus conſulibus, velamenta ſupplicum, ramos oleae* (ut Graecis mos eſt) *porrigentes, ante tribunal cum flebili vociferatione procubuerunt.*

[k] B. xxix. c. 16.

cauſe

cauſe of the war; and that the people had been guilty but of one fault, which was, of having been deluded by their corrupt demagogues, who had nothing elſe in view but their private advantages. And, for this deluſion, in which neceſſity had the greateſt ſhare, they ſaid, every city had, already, been, ſeverely, puniſhed by the loſs of the beſt of their youth; ſo that, it was not eaſy to find a ſingle family, that was not in mourning. They deſired the Romans would receive thoſe, who, willingly, ſubmitted to them, and had no intention, any longer, either to conteſt the ſovereignty with them, or to pretend to an equality; but were reſolved to continue, ever after, to be their allies, and ſubjects, and to add to the happineſs of the Romans all that dignity, which fortune had taken from the Latines. At the end of their ſpeech, they called upon the affinity, that ſubſiſted between the two nations, and put them in mind of the many occaſions, where they had, formerly, aſſiſted them without ever excuſing themſelves, and bewailed the misfortunes, that would fall on the innocent, who were many more in number, than the guilty; accompanying every thing they ſaid with tears; embracing the knees of all the ſenators; and laying the enſigns of ſuppliants at the feet of Poſtumius: So that, the whole ſenate were affected, in ſome degree, with their tears, and intreaties.

XIX. After the embaſſadors withdrew, and liberty was given to the ſenators, who, uſually, delivered their opinions, Titus Lartius, who had been the firſt dictator, three

[18] three years before, adviſed them to uſe their good fortune with moderation, ſaying, that the greateſt praiſe, that could be given to a whole people, as well as to individuals, was not to be corrupted with proſperity, but to bear good fortune with temperance, and moderation: For all proſperity was envied, particularly, That, which was attended with arrogance, and rigor to the humbled, and ſubdued. That they ought not to rely on fortune, they, who, by their own adverſity, and proſperity, had experienced how inconſtant ſhe is, and ſubject to ſudden changes: Neither ought they to reduce their adverſaries to a neceſſity of running the greateſt hazards, which néceſſity renders men [19] daring beyond their judgement, and brave beyond their power. He ſaid, they had reaſon to be afraid of drawing upon themſelves the general hatred of all they propoſed to command, if they

[18] Τῷ παρελθοντι ενιαυτῳ. Sylburgius, and, after him, M. ***, have obſerved that Lartius had been dictator three years before. This muſt, therefore, be an error in the tranſcriber.

[19] Παρα γνωμην τολμησαι — και ὑπερ δυναμιν μαχεσθαι. Whoever has read Thucydides with attention will ſee, at firſt ſight, that our author has imitated him upon this occaſion. The Corinthian embaſſadors, in comparing the character of the Athenians with That of the Lacedaemonians, ſay of the former, or rather, [1] Thucydides ſays for them, οἱ μεν, και παρα δυναμιν τολμητιαι, και παρα γνωμην κινδυνευται, etc. I was ſurpriſed to find that Valla has tranſlated παρα γνωμην, *praeter hominum opinionem*. This I do not take to be the ſenſe of the Greek words either in Thucydides, or in our author, though I obſerve that Portus has given this ſenſe to them, when he ſays, *praeter omnem expectationem*. As for the French tranſlators, their verſions of this paſſage are nothing but looſe paraphraſes, which deſerve not to be tranſcribed. But, to return to this expreſſion, I have rendered it, as if the words were, παρα την ἑαυτων γνωμην, not παρα την παντων γνωμην, which laſt is the ſenſe the two Latin tranſlators I mentioned, have given to this paſſage; and the former is the ſenſe, I find, Hobbes has given to the words of Thucydides, when he ſays, *adventurous above their own reaſon.*

[1] B. i. c. 70.

puniſhed

puniſhed the guilty in a ſevere, and inexorable manner, as if they had abandoned their uſual maxims, forgetting they owed to them their preſent luſtre, and transformed their ſovereignty from a command, and a preeminence, which it was before, to a tyranny. He added that errors are moderate, and do not deſerve indignation, when a people, zealous for liberty, and, formerly, accuſtomed to command, are tenacious of their ancient dignity: And, if thoſe, who aim at the greateſt things, are to be puniſhed in an irreparable manner, when they are diſappointed of their hopes, nothing can hinder the whole race of men from being deſtroyed by one another: For all men have an innate deſire of liberty. He ſhewed that the government, which ſought to ſubdue its ſubjects by benefits, was far better, and more firmly eſtabliſhed, than That, which ſought to ſubdue them by puniſhments; the former producing love, and the latter, terror. And there was a neceſſity, founded on nature, that every thing, that was terrible, ſhould be, particularly, deteſted. At the end of his ſpeech, he deſired they would take example from the beſt actions of their anceſtors, by which they gained commendation; and he recounted the many cities they had taken by ſtorm, which they had not demoliſhed; neither had they killed the inhabitants, who were men grown, nor inſlaved them; but, by making thoſe cities Roman colonies, and by communicating the privileges of Roman citizens to ſuch of the conquered, as deſired to live at Rome, they had aggrandized their city. The ſubſtance of his opinion was, to renew the treaties they had, before, made with the

Latin

Latin nation, and to retain no reſentment againſt any of the cities for the errors they had been guilty of.

XX. Servius Sulpicius oppoſed nothing the other had ſaid concerning the peace, and the renewal of the treaties; but ſaid his opinion was (ſince the Latines had firſt violated thoſe treaties, and that this was not the firſt time they had done ſo, which might deſerve ſome forgiveneſs, as they pretended neceſſity, and deluſion, but they had, often, broken them before, which deſerved correction) that impunity, and liberty be granted to all of them, by reaſon of their affinity; but that one half of their lands be taken from them, and a Roman colony ſent thither, among whom they ſhould be divided by lot, who would enjoy the produce of thoſe lands, and prevent the Latines from raiſing further diſturbances. Spurius Caſſius adviſed to raſe their cities, ſaying he wondered at the folly of thoſe, who deſired their crimes might go unpuniſhed; and who could not ſee that, through the inbred, and unalterable envy, with which they were animated againſt the riſing power of Rome, they were, ever, contriving to raiſe ſucceſſive wars againſt them, and that they would never, willingly, give over their treacherous deſigns, while they were poſſeſſed with this unfortunate paſſion: That they had, lately, endeavoured to reduce a people, related to them, under the power of tyrants, more ſavage than any wild beaſts, and had trampled upon all the treaties they had ſworne by the gods to obſerve, being induced to it by no other hopes than that, if the war did not ſucceed according to their expectation, they ſhould incur either no puniſhment

at

at all, or a very ſlight one. And he, alſo, deſired them to take example from the actions of their anceſtors, who, when they obſerved the city of Alba, of which they themſelves, and all the other Latin cities were colonies, to envy their proſperity, and to have made uſe of the impunity they had obtained for their firſt tranſgreſſions, as an opportunity of multiplying their treacheries, they reſolved to deſtroy it in one day; looking upon it that there was no difference between pitying none, who had committed ſmall faults, and puniſhing none, who had committed the greateſt, and the moſt incorrigible crimes: And that it would be an act of great folly, and inſenſibility, not of humanity, and moderation in thoſe, who could not bear the envy of their mother city, when it appeared beyond meaſure grievous, and intolerable, to ſubmit to That of their relations; and who had puniſhed enemies convicted of being ſo in fewer inſtances, by depriving them of their country, to exact no puniſhment from ſuch, as had, often, ſhewn their irreconcileable hatred to them. Having ſaid this, and enumerated all the rebellions of the Latines, and put the ſenate in mind of the vaſt number of Romans, who had loſt their lives in the wars againſt them, he adviſed to treat them in the ſame manner they had, formerly, treated the Albans; to raſe their cities, and add their territories to Thoſe of the Romans; to grant the rights of Roman citizens to ſuch of the inhabitants, as had ſhewn any affection towards their commonwealth, and to ſuffer them to enjoy their fortunes; to put to death, as traitors, the authors of the revolt, by whom the

treaties had been diſſolved; and, as to the poorer ſort of the people, the lazy, and the uſeleſs, to make them ſlaves.

XXI. Theſe were the opinions of the leading men of the ſenate: But the dictator giving the preference to That of Lartius, and no further oppoſition being made to it, the embaſſadors were called in to receive their anſwer: When Poſtumius, after reproaching them with an evil diſpoſition never to be reformed, ſaid; "We ſhould do an act of juſtice, "if we treated you with the utmoſt ſeverity, a treatment "you had prepared for us, if the many attempts you have "made againſt us had ſucceeded. However, the Romans "have reſolved not to prefer juſtice to clemency; becauſe "they conſider that the Latines are their relations, and have "had recourſe to the mercy of thoſe they had injured; but "to acquit them of the puniſhment due to theſe offences "alſo, as well from a regard to the gods, who preſide over "conſanguinity, as to the inſtability of Fortune, to whom "they owe their victory. At preſent, therefore, return, "ſays he, perfectly free; and, after you have releaſed the "priſoners; delivered up the deſerters, and expelled the "exiles, then ſend embaſſadors to us to treat of friendſhip, "and of an alliance, with this aſſurance that they ſhall "obtain every thing, that is reaſonable." The embaſſadors, having received this anſwer, departed: And, a few days after, returned, having releaſed the priſoners, and ſent away Tarquinius, and the exiles; bringing with them all the deſerters they could find, in chains. In conſideration of which, they obtained of the ſenate a treaty of friendſhip, and alliance upon

upon the ſame terms with the former; and renewed the oaths, before taken concerning it, by the interpoſition of the *Feciales*. Thus ended the war, which the Romans had carried on againſt the tyrants, after it had laſted fourteen years from their expulſion. After this, Tarquinius (for he ſtill ſurvived his family) being, now, near ninety years of age, and having loſt his children, and his ſon-in-law, paſſed a miſerable old age among thoſe, who hated him; and, when neither the Latines, the Tyrrhenians, the Sabines, nor any other free people in thoſe parts, would ſuffer him to reſide in their cities, he retired to Cumae in Campania, and was received by Ariſtodemus, ſurnamed Malachus, who was, at that time, tyrant of the Cumaeans: And, having lived a few days there, he died, and was buried by him. Some of the exiles, who had followed his fortunes, remained at Cumae; and the reſt, diſperſing themſelves in other cities, ended their days in baniſhment.

XXII. After the Romans had put an end to the foreign wars, the civil ſedition ſprung up again: For the ſenate ordered the courts of juſtice to ſit, and that all ſuits, which they had reſpited on account of the war, ſhould be determined according to the laws. The conteſts, ariſing from the contracts, produced great ſtorms, and terrible inſtances of an inſolent, and ſhameleſs behaviour; the common people pretending that, as the country had been laid waſte by a long war, their cattle deſtroyed, the number of their ſlaves reduced by deſertion, and the incurſions of the enemy, and the fortunes they had in the city, conſumed by their expences

in the war, they were under an impoſſibility of paying their debts: And, on the other ſide, the creditors alledged that theſe calamities had been common to all, and not confined to the debtors only, and thought it was inſufferable for them to loſe, not only, what they had been deprived of in the war by the enemy, but, alſo, what they had lent, during the peace, to ſome of the citizens, who wanted their aſſiſtance. So that, the creditors ſubmitting to nothing that was reaſonable, and the debtors to nothing that was juſt, and the former refuſing to abate even the intereſt, and the latter to pay even the principal itſelf, frequent meetings were held by thoſe, who were in the ſame circumſtances, and the oppoſite parties faced one another in the forum; and, ſometimes, ſkirmiſhes inſued; by all which, the whole ſyſtem of the civil government was diſordered. Poſtumius, who was, ſtill, revered by men of all ranks, ſeeing this, thought it an advantageous meaſure to reſcue the commonwealth from theſe civil ſtorms by a difficult war; and, before he had finiſhed the whole time of his ſovereign magiſtracy, he abdicated the dictatorſhip; and, having fixed a day for the election of conſuls, he, together with his collegue, appointed the uſual magiſtrates.

XXIII. The conſuls, inveſted, again, with the annual, and legal magiſtracy, were Appius Claudius Sabinus, and Publius Servilius Priſcus; who, judging, rightly, that the greateſt of all ſervices they could do to the commonwealth, was to divert the civil tumult to a foreign war, were contriving that one of them ſhould march with an army againſt

againſt the Volſci; as well to take revenge of them for the ſuccours they had ſent to the Latines againſt the Romans, as to prevent their preparations, which, as yet, were not far advanced: For they, alſo, were reported to be raiſing an army with the greateſt activity, and ſending embaſſadors to the neighbouring nations to ſolicit them to enter into their alliance; being induced to take theſe ſteps from the account they had received that there was a diviſion between the plebeians, and the patricians, and from an opinion that it would be no difficult matter to make themſelves maſters of a city weakened by a domeſtic war. The conſuls, therefore, having reſolved, for theſe reaſons, to lead out an army, and their reſolution being approved of by the whole ſenate, they ordered all the youth to preſent themſelves on the day they had appointed to make their levies. But the plebeians, though, often, called to take the military oath, not obeying the conſuls, theſe were, no longer, unanimous. But, beginning from hence, they divided, and continued to oppoſe one another all the time of their magiſtracy. For Servilius was of opinion that they ought to take the milder way, and adhere to the maxims of Marcus Valerius, a moſt popular man, who adviſed to apply a remedy to the cauſe of the ſedition, by decreeing, above all things, an abolition, or, at leaſt, a diminution of the debts; but, if That could not be obtained, to forbid, for the preſent, the carrying to priſon any of the debtors, who had exceeded the day appointed for the payment of their debts; and, by exhortation, rather than force, to induce the poor to take the military oath,

and

and not to puniſh the diſobedient, as in a city where concord reigned, in a ſevere, and inexorable manner, but with moderation, and mildneſs: For, he ſaid, there was reaſon to apprehend that men, in want of the daily neceſſaries of life, if compelled to ſerve at their own expence, when met together, might commit ſome deſperate act.

XXIV. On the other ſide, the opinion of Appius, the moſt conſiderable perſon among the patrons of the ariſtocracy, was ſevere and haughty; he adviſed to indulge the people in nothing, but even to allow the creditors to compel the payment of the obligations, upon the terms they were intitled to, and that the conſul, who remained in the city, ſhould appoint the courts of juſtice to ſit according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms; that the puniſhments, ordained by law, againſt thoſe, who declined the ſervice, be inflicted, and that they ought to yield to the people in nothing, that was not founded in juſtice, or join with them in eſtabliſhing a deſtructive power: For, ſays he, they are, now, grown wanton beyond all meaſure, by being diſcharged of the tributes they, formerly, paid to the kings, and freed from the corporal puniſhments they ſuffered from them, when they did not, preſently, yield obedience to all their commands. But, if they go further, and attempt any alteration in the conſtitution, or to exalt themſelves, let us make uſe of the ſober, and ſound part of the citizens, who will be found more numerous than the diſaffected, to ſuppreſs them. We are provided with no ſmall ſtrength to effect this, and the patrician youth is ready to obey our commands: But the moſt

moſt formidable weapon of all, and the moſt difficult to be reſiſted, is the power of the ſenate; armed with which we ſhall ſubdue the plebeians, and ſtrike them with terror, while we ſupport the laws: Whereas, if we relax, and grant their demands, in the firſt place, we ſhall diſgrace ourſelves by giving up the government to the people, when we had it in our power to live under an ariſtocracy; and,in the next, we ſhall be expoſed to the greateſt danger of loſing our liberty again, if any man, aiming at tyranny, ſhould, by courting them, acquire a power ſuperior to the laws. The conſuls conteſting in this manner, as well in private, as when the ſenate was aſſembled, and many ſiding with each, that aſſembly, tired with their altercation, and noiſe, and the indecent ſpeeches, with which they abuſed one another, was diſmiſſed, without coming to any ſalutary reſolution.

XXV. Much time being conſumed in theſe things, the other conſul, Servilius (for it had fallen to his lot to command the army) having, by great intreaties, and conciliating the affections of the people, prevailed with them to aſſiſt in the war, took the field with an army not raiſed by compulſion, but conſiſting of voluntiers, as the preſent juncture required, while the Volſci were yet employed in their preparations, and expected that the Romans, thus divided, and ingaged in mutual animoſities, would neither march againſt them with an army, nor dare to reſiſt them, if attacked; and that they ſhould be, intirely, at liberty to begin the war, whenever they thought fit: But, when thoſe, who were deſigned to be attacked, became the aggreſſors, the moſt reſpectable

for

for their age among the Volſci, ſtruck with the expedition of the Romans, went out of their cities with olive branches; and, delivering up themſelves to Servilius, ſubmitted to ſuch treatment, as he ſhould think fit to inflict on their offences: Who, taking from them proviſions, and clothes for his army; and, chuſing out of the moſt conſiderable families three hundred hoſtages, departed, looking upon the war as at an end. However, this did not prove an end of the war, but rather a delay, and an opportunity of making preparations to thoſe, who had been ſurpriſed by the unexpected invaſion. For the Roman army was no ſooner gone, but the Volſci, again, prepared for war, by fortifying their towns, and reinforcing the garriſons of ſuch places, as were proper to ſecure them againſt the enemy. The Hernici, and the Sabines eſpouſed their quarrel openly, and many others privately: But the Latines, when embaſſadors were ſent to them to deſire their aſſiſtance, bound the men, and carried them to Rome. The ſenate, in return for their firm adherence to their alliance, and, yet more, for the alacrity they ſhewed to take a ſhare in the war, (for they were ready to aſſiſt them of their own accord) granted to them a favor they knew they deſired above all things, but were aſhamed to aſk it, which was to releaſe the priſoners they had taken from them, during the wars, without ranſom, the number of whom amounted to near ſix thouſand; and, in order to give ſuch a luſtre to the preſent, as moſt became their affinity, they clothed them all with the apparel proper to free men. As to the offer of their aſſiſtance, the ſenate told

told them they did not ſtand in need of it; and that the national forces of Rome were ſufficient to chaſtize thoſe, who had revolted from them. After they had given this anſwer to the Latines, they paſſed a vote for the war againſt the Volſci.

XXVI. While the ſenate was yet ſitting, and conſidering what forces ſhould be ſent into the field, a man, advanced in years, appeared in the forum: He was dreſſed in rags, with his beard, and hair grown long; and, crying out, called upon the people for aſſiſtance. And all, who were near, flocking to him, he placed himſelf in a conſpicuous part of the forum, and ſaid; "I was born free, and have ſerved "the whole time appointed by law; been preſent in twenty "eight battles, and have, often, received the cuſtomary "rewards for the ſuperior bravery I have ſhewn in the wars; "and, when the commonwealth was reduced to the laſt "ſtreights by the ſeverity of the times, I was forced to "contract a debt to pay the contributions levied upon me: "My lands being laid waſte by the incurſions of the enemy, "and my fortunes, in the city, exhauſted by the ſcarcity of "proviſions, I, for theſe reaſons, unable to diſcharge the "debt, was carried away, as a ſlave, by my creditor, with my "two ſons; and my maſter ordering me to do ſome difficult "work, and I, refuſing to do it, was, ſeverely, ſcourged." After he had ſaid this, he threw off his rags, and ſhewed his breaſt covered with ſcars, and his back bleeding with the ſtripes. This raiſing a general clamor, and lamentation in all preſent, the ſenate broke up, and the poor ran through

every ſtreet, each bewailing his own misfortunes, and imploring the aſſiſtance of his neighbour. At the ſame time, all, who were in ſlavery for their debts, ruſhed out of the houſes of their creditors, with their hair grown long, and moſt of them in chains, and fetters, none daring to lay hold of them; and, if any offered to touch them, they were, violently, torne in pieces: Such a madneſs poſſeſſed the people at that time! and, preſently, the forum was full of debtors, who had broken looſe from their chains. Appius, therefore, fearing ſome attempt from the people, ſince he had been the cauſe of this miſchief, fled from the forum. But Servilius, throwing off his robe bordered with purple, and caſting himſelf in tears at the feet of every one of the plebeians, with difficulty prevailed upon them to be quiet that day, and to come the day after; aſſuring them the ſenate would take ſome care of their intereſt. Having ſaid this, he ordered the cryer to make proclamation that no creditor ſhould be at liberty to carry any of the citizens to priſon for his debt, till the ſenate ſhould come to a reſolution concerning them; and that all preſent might go, with impunity, whitherſoever they pleaſed: By which means, he appeaſed the ſedition.

XXVII. Upon this, they left the forum for that time: But the next day, there appeared, not only, the inhabitants of the city, but all the people of the neighbouring country, and the forum was crowded by break of day. The ſenate being aſſembled to conſider what was to be done, Appius called his collegue a flatterer of the people, and the ring-leader in their madneſs: On the other ſide, Servilius called him

him a ſevere, and haughty man, and the cauſe of the preſent miſchiefs. And there was no end of their conteſts. In the mean time, ſome horſemen, ſent by the Latines, came riding full ſpeed to the forum, and gave notice that the enemy had taken the field with a great army, and were, already, upon their confines: This was the account they brought. Upon which, the patricians, and the whole body of the knights, together with all thoſe, who were diſtinguiſhed either by their fortunes, or the luſtre of their anceſtors, as having a great deal at ſtake, armed themſelves in all haſte. But the poor, and, particularly, ſuch, as laboured under debts, neither meddled with arms, nor gave any other aſſiſtance to the commonwealth: But were pleaſed, and received the news of a foreign war, as a thing, that fell out to their wiſh, looking upon it as a cure for their preſent evils. To thoſe, who deſired them to take arms, they ſhewed their chains, and fetters, and aſked them, in deriſion, whether it were worth their while to make war, in order to preſerve thoſe bleſſings. And many went ſo far as to ſay that it was better for them to be ſlaves to the Volſci, than to bear the abuſes of the patricians. And, now, the city was filled with wailings, tumult, and all ſorts of womaniſh lamentations.

XXVIII. The ſenators, ſeeing theſe things, begged of the other conſul, Servilius, who ſeemed, in the preſent juncture, to have greater credit with the people, to relieve his country. Who, calling the people together, ſhewed them that the neceſſity of the times did not admit of civil conteſts, and beſought them to march, at that time, againſt the enemy with

unanimity, and not ſuffer their country to be ſubverted, in which were the gods of their fathers, and the ſepulchres of their anceſtors, both moſt precious in the eyes of all men; to reſpect their parents, unable, through age, to defend themſelves; to compaſſionate their wives, who muſt, preſently, be expoſed to dreadful, and unutterable abuſes; and, particularly, to pity their infant children, who, though brought up with better expectations, would be treated in the moſt injurious, inſulting, and cruel manner: And, after they had, by a general effort, freed their country from the preſent danger, then he adviſed them to conſider in what manner they ſhould conſtitute an equal, common, and ſalutary form of government, in which neither the poor might defraud the rich of their fortunes, nor theſe inſult the low condition of their inferiors; neither of which became fellow-citizens; and, alſo, what legal protection ſhould be eſtabliſhed on behalf of the poor, and what moderate relief given to the creditors. By this means, the Roman commonwealth would not be the only one, from which the faith of contracts, which is the greateſt of all human benefits to the injured, and the guardian of concord in all governments, would be, totally, and, for ever, baniſhed. After he had ſaid this, and every thing elſe the occaſion required, he put them in mind of the affection, which he himſelf had ever ſhewn to the people, and deſired them to ſerve under him in this expedition in return for that affection, the government of the city being committed to his collegue, and the command of the army conferred upon himſelf, the lot having, thus, determined

mined their reſpective functions. He ſaid, alſo, that the ſenate had promiſed him to confirm whatever conceſſions he ſhould make to the people; and that he had promiſed the ſenate to perſuade the people not to betray their country to the enemy.

XXIX. Having ſaid this, he ordered the cryer to make proclamation that no perſon ſhould be at liberty to ſeize, ſell, or retain as pledges the houſes of thoſe Romans, who ſhould march out with him againſt the Volſci, or carry their children to priſon for any debt, and that none ſhould hinder any, who deſired it, from entering into the ſervice: But, with regard to thoſe, who ſhould decline it, their creditors ſhould have power to compel them to pay their debts, upon the terms each of them had advanced their money. When the poor heard this, they, preſently, relaxed, and all ſhewed great ardor for the war; ſome, induced to it by the hopes of booty; others, by their affection to the general; but the greateſt part, to avoid the fury of Appius, and the abuſive treatment, to which thoſe, who ſtaid in the city, would be expoſed. Servilius, putting himſelf at the head of the army, loſt no time; but marched with great expedition, that he might ingage the enemy, before they entered the Roman territories. And, finding them incamped in the Pometine plain, and foraging the country of the Latines, becauſe, when ſolicited by them, they had refuſed to aſſiſt them in the war, he incamped, in the beginning of the night, upon a hill, diſtant about twenty ſtadia from the enemy. And, in the night, his army was attacked by the Volſci, who thought they were

few

few in number, tired with a long march, and in no diſpoſition to fight, by reaſon of the commotions raiſed by the poor concerning their debts, which ſeemed then to be at their height. Servilius maintained the fight in his camp, as long as the night laſted; and, as ſoon as it was day, when he ſaw the enemy employed in plundering the country without obſerving any order, he commanded ſeveral gates of the camp to be opened privately, and, at one ſignal, ſallied out with his army againſt them. The attack being ſudden, ſurpriſed the Volſci; ſome few of whom, making reſiſtance, were killed fighting near the intrenchments. And the reſt, flying with precipitation, after the loſs of many of their companions, ſaved themſelves in their camp, the greateſt part of them being wounded, and having loſt their arms. The Romans, purſuing them cloſe, inveſted them in their intrenchments; and, after a ſhort defence, theſe delivered up their camp, which was full of ſlaves, cattle, arms, and all ſorts of military ſtores. There were, alſo, many free men taken in it, ſome of them being of the Volſcian nation, and others, belonging to the cities, which had aſſiſted them: And, with theſe, as great a quantity of money both in gold, and ſilver, and of apparel, as if the richeſt city had been taken: All which Servilius ordered to be divided among the ſoldiers that every man might be benefited by the booty, and no part of it brought into the treaſury; and, having ſet fire to the camp, he marched, with his army, to [20] Sueſſa Pometia, being the city, that lay neareſt: Which,

[20] Σουεσσα. Πωμεντιαν. See the fifty ninth annotation on the fourth book.

for

for its extent, the number of its inhabitants, and, alſo, for its glory, and riches, was, by far, the moſt conſiderable city belonging to the enemy, and as the capital of the nation. This place he inveſted; and, attacking it night, and day, without intermiſſion, in order to tire the enemy out with want of ſleep, and conſtant ſervice, he ſubdued the beſieged by famine, deſpair, and ſcarcity of men; took the town in a ſhort time, and put to death all the inhabitants, who were men grown: And, having given the effects, that were found there alſo, to the ſoldiers, he marched againſt the reſt of the enemy's cities, none of the Volſci being, now, in a condition to oppoſe him.

XXX. The Volſci being, thus, humbled by the Romans, the other conſul, Appius Claudius, cauſed their hoſtages, to the number of three hundred, to be brought into the forum; and, to the end that all thoſe, who had ſurrendered to the Romans, and given hoſtages for their fidelity, might be afraid of violating their treaties, he ordered them all to be, publicly, whipped, and then beheaded. And, when his collegue, a few days after, returned from his expedition, and demanded of the ſenate the honor of a triumph, uſually granted to generals, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their glorious exploits, he oppoſed it, calling him a factious man, and the favourer of a deſtructive form of government; and charged him, particularly, with having brought no part of the ſpoils into the treaſury, but given the whole to thoſe he thought fit: And, by this means, he prevailed upon the ſenate not to grant him the triumph. Servilius, looking upon

upon himſelf to be abuſed by the ſenate, behaved with an arrogance unuſual to the Romans: For, having aſſembled the people in the field before the city; enumerated the actions he had performed in the war, and acquainted them both with the envy of his collegue, and the inſult he had received from the ſenate, he told them that, from his own actions, and the army, which had a ſhare in them, he derived a power of triumphing for the glorious, and fortunate ſucceſs, with which thoſe actions had been attended. And, having ſaid this, he ordered the lictors to be crowned; and he himſelf, wearing a crown, and attired in a triumphal robe, entered the city, attended by all the people; and, aſcending the capitol, performed his vows, and conſecrated the ſpoils. By which action, he encreaſed the envy of the patricians, but gained the favor of the plebeians.

XXXI. While the commonwealth was in this unſettled condition, a kind of truce intervened, cauſed by the cuſtomary ſacrifices; and the feſtivals inſuing, which were celebrated at a great expence, appeaſed the ſedition of the people for the preſent. During the celebration of theſe feſtivals, the Sabines invaded them with a great army, having, long ſince, waited for this opportunity: They began their march as ſoon as it was dark, to the end that, before the Romans were apprized of it, they might approach the city: Which they might, eaſily, have taken, if ſome of their light-armed men had not ſtraggled from the army; and, by plundering the country houſes, given the alarm. Upon which, an outcry inſued, and the huſbandmen ran into the city before the enemy

enemy arrived at the gates. Thoſe in the city were informed of this invaſion, while they were ſeeing the public entertainments, and crowned with garlands; when, leaving the games, they ran to arms: And an army of voluntiers, preſently, offered themſelves to Servilius: Which he drew up; and, with them, fell upon the enemy, who were tired both with want of ſleep, and the length of their march, and did not expect to be attacked by the Romans. When the armies cloſed, a battle inſued; in which, neither ſide, through eagerneſs, obſerved any order, or diſcipline: But, as if guided by fortune, whole lines, companies, or ſingle men ingaged, and the horſe, and foot fought promiſcuouſly: And, as the two cities were not far aſunder, ſuccours arrived from both: Who, by encouraging the forces, that ſuffered, made them ſuſtain the fatigues of the ingagement for a long time. After that, a body of horſe coming to the aſſiſtance of the Romans, they, again, overcame the Sabines; and, having killed many of them, returned to the city with a great number of priſoners. Then, diſcovering the Sabines, who had come to Rome under the pretence of ſeeing the entertainments, and deſigned to have poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſtrong places of the city, in order to favor the attempt of their countrymen, as it had been concerted between them, they threw them into priſon: And, having voted that the ſacrifices, which had been interrupted by the war, ſhould be performed with double magnificence, they, again, paſſed their time in exultation.

XXXII. While they were celebrating theſe feſtivals, embaſſadors came to them from the [21] Aurunci, who inhabited the fineſt plains of Campania: Theſe, being introduced into the ſenate, deſired the Romans would reſtore the country to the Volſci, called Echetrani, which they had taken from them, and divided among thoſe of their own people, whom they had ſent thither as a colony, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of that country; and that they would withdraw the guard: Which if they refuſed to do, the embaſſadors ſaid the Aurunci would, ſoon, invade the territories of the Romans, and take revenge for the injuries they had done to their neighbours. To theſe the Romans gave this anſwer: "Embaſſadors, let "the Aurunci know we Romans think it juſt that, what-"ever any one has acquired from an enemy by his valor, "he ſhould leave it to his poſterity, as his own: That we "are not afraid of a war from the Aurunci, which will "be neither the firſt, nor the moſt formidable we have been "ingaged in; it being cuſtomary for us to fight with all "men for command, and glory: And, when we ſee the "war come to an action, we ſhall receive it with intrepidity." After this, the Aurunci, who were come out of their own territories with a great army, and the Romans, with their national forces under the command of Servilius, met near the city of [22] Aricia, which is diſtant one hundred and twenty ſtadia from Rome. And each of them incamped on hills,

[21] Αυρσίκων. Theſe were the *Aurunci*, a people of Campania, whoſe principal city was *Sueſſa Aurunca*, now called, [m] *Seſſa*.

[22] Πολεως Αρικειας. See the thirtieth annotation on the fifth book.

[m] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. c. 5.

ſtrongly,

ſtrongly, ſituated, not far from one another. After they had fortified their camps, they advanced to the plain, in order to a battle: And, ingaging early in the morning, they maintained the fight till noon: So that, many were killed on both ſides: For the Aurunci were a warlike nation; and, by their ſtature, their ſtrength, and the fierceneſs of their looks, in which great ſavageneſs appeared, they were exceeding formidable.

XXXIII. In this battle, the Roman horſe, and their commander, Aulus Poſtumius Albus, who had been dictator the year before, are ſaid to have behaved themſelves with the greateſt bravery: For the place, where the battle was fought, was not, at all, proper for the horſe, being full of rocky hills, and deep valleys; ſo that, the horſe could be of no advantage to either ſide. Upon which occaſion, Poſtumius, having ordered the horſe to diſmount, and formed a body of ſix hundred men, obſerving where the Roman foot ſuffered moſt, being forced down a hill, there he charged the enemy, and, preſently, ſtopped their purſuit. The Barbarians being, once, repulſed, the Romans grew bold, and the foot emulated the horſe: And both forming one compact body, they drove the right wing of the enemy to the hill: Some purſued that part of them, which fled towards their camp, and killed many: While others attacked in the rear thoſe, who, ſtill, maintained the fight. When, having forced theſe, alſo, to fly, they followed them in their difficult, and ſlow retreat up the ſteep places, cutting aſunder the ſinews both of their legs, and hams with ſide blows of their ſwords,

till they came to their camp; and, having forced the guards of this alſo, who were not numerous, they made themſelves maſters of their camp, and plundered it. However, they found no great booty there, but only arms, horſes, and other things proper for the war. Theſe were the actions of Servilius, and Appius, during their conſulſhip.

XXXIV. They were ſucceeded by [23] Aulus Virginius Coelimontanus, and Titus Veturius Geminus, [24] Themiſtocles

[23] Αυλος Ουεργινιος Κοιλιμοντανος. Sigonius has, certainly, great reaſon to read this conſul's name Coelimontanus, inſtead of Montanus, as it ſtands in the editions, and manuſcripts; becauſe we find he is called ſo in the *Faſti conſulares.*

[24] Αρχοντος Αθηνησι Θεμιστοκλεους. I find M. * * * is of opinion that this Athenian archon cannot be the great Themiſtocles: The reaſon he gives for it, is, that he was too young to be archon at this time, that is, in the fourth year of the ſeventy firſt Olympiad. I am of a different opinion: For which I ſhall give my reaſons; and then leave it to the reader to determine between us. In the firſt place, among all the Athenian archons, we find no other Themiſtocles, till the ſecond year of the one hundred and eighth Olympiad; and it is not probable that Themiſtocles, who ſaved Athens, and all Greece from being inſlaved by the Perſians, ſhould never have been choſen archon by his country. In the next place, I ſhall conſider the reaſon, given by that gentleman in ſupport of his opinion; and ſhew that Themiſtocles was far from being too young to be choſen archon at this time. [n] Plutarch tells us that he was ſixty five years of age, when he died. Now, it appears by [o] Cicero, and by [p] Euſebius, that Themiſtocles died in the third year of the ſeventy eighth Olympiad: From the fourth year of the ſeventy firſt Olympiad, to the third of the ſeventy eighth, are juſt twenty ſix years: So that, Themiſtocles muſt have been about thirty nine years of age in the fourth year of the ſeventy firſt Olympiad; and, conſequently, he was not too young to have been archon that year. Beſides, there is great reaſon to believe that Themiſtocles had been archon long before he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much when the Perſians invaded Greece, which was in the firſt year of the ſeventy fifth Olympiad, Calliades being then archon at Athens, as we find both in [q] Herodotus, and in [r] our author; becauſe [s] Thucydides, in ſpeaking of the port of Piraeeus, which was finiſhed by the advice of Themiſtocles, after the re-

[n] Life of Themiſt. [o] In Laelio, c. 12. [p] In Chronic. MDL. [q] In Urania. c. 51.
[r] B. ix. c. 1. [s] B. i. c. 93.

being

being archon at Athens, the two hundred and ſixtieth year after the foundation of Rome, and the year before the ſeventy ſecond Olympiad, in which [25] Tiſicrates of Croton won the prize for the ſecond time. In their conſulſhip, the Sabines prepared to invade the Romans with a greater army than before; and the [26] Medullini, revolting from the latter, entered into a treaty of confederacy with the Sabines, confirmed by their oaths. The patricians, having intelligence of their deſigns, were preparing to take the field, immediately, with all their forces: But the plebeians refuſed to obey their orders, remembering, with reſentment, the breach of promiſe they had, often, been guilty of in relation to thoſe poor, who wanted relief; and that the votes of the ſenate paſſed in their favor, were, always, defeated by contrary votes. And, aſſembling together by degrees, they bound one another by oath, no longer, to aſſiſt the patricians in any war; and that they would ſupport all the poor in general, and every one of them in particular, againſt any perſon, who ſhould offer violence to them. This conſpiracy appeared upon many occaſions, both in conteſts, and ſkirmiſhes; but the conſuls

treat of the Perſians, ſays that it had been begun before, during his annual magiſtracy; ὑπηρκτο δ' αυτȣ προτερον επι της εκεινȣ αρχης, ἡς κατ' ενιαυτον Αθηναιοις ηρξε. This, in my opinion, plainly relates to the time, when he was archon; and, among the Athenian archons, no perſon of that name is to be found near that time, as I have ſaid, but the archon of the fourth year of the ſeventy firſt Olympiad.

25. Τισικρατης Κροτωνιατης. So this name muſt be read; and not Στησικρατος with the Vatican, nor Πισικρατης with the Venetian manuſcript; becauſe we [t] find this man won the prize of the ſtadium at the preceding Olympiad.

26. Μεδυλλινοι. See the ſeventieth annotation on the ſecond book.

[t] B. v. c. 77.

had

had the greateſt proof of it: For, when they ordered any of the people to be ſeized for not entering into the ſervice, when ſummoned, the poor aſſembled in a body, and endeavoured to reſcue the perſon, as he was carrying to priſon; and, when the officers of the conſuls refuſed to releaſe him, they beat them, and drove them away; and, if any either of the knights, or patricians, who were preſent, attempted to put a ſtop to theſe proceedings, they forbore not to ſtrike them: Thus, in a ſhort time, the city was full of diſorder, and tumult. As the ſedition encreaſed in the city, the preparations of the enemy encreaſed alſo. And the Volſci, and the Aequi forming a deſign to revolt, embaſſadors came from all the people, who were ſubjects of the Romans, to deſire that, as their territories lay in the paſſage of the war, they would ſend them ſuccours: For the Latines complained that the Aequi had made an incurſion into their country, and, were then, laying waſte their lands, and had, already, plundered ſome of their cities. And the garriſon in Cruſtumeria ſhewed that the Sabines were advanced near that fortreſs, and ready to beſiege it. Others gave an account of other miſchiefs, which either had happened, or were like to happen, and deſired immediate aſſiſtance. Embaſſadors from the Volſci, alſo, came to the ſenate to demand before they began the war, that the lands, taken from them by the Romans, might be reſtored.

XXXV. The ſenate being aſſembled to conſider of theſe things, Titus Lartius, eſteemed a man of ſuperior dignity, and conſummate prudence, was firſt called upon to deliver

deliver his opinion; when, riſing up, he ſaid: "To me, "fathers, the things, which, to others ſeem terrible, and to "ſtand in need of a ſpeedy relief, do appear neither terrible, "nor very urging, that is, in what manner we are to aſſiſt "our allies, and repulſe our enemies: But thoſe things, "which they look upon neither as the greateſt of evils, nor "neceſſary to be conſidered at preſent, but neglect them as "not likely, in any degree, to hurt us, appear moſt terrible "to me; and, if we do not, ſoon, put a ſtop to them, they "will cauſe a total ſubverſion, and confuſion of the com-"monwealth: Theſe are, the diſobedience of the plebeians "to the orders of the conſuls, and our own ſeverity againſt "that diſobedience, and the liberty they take. I am of "opinion, therefore, that you ought to conſider nothing elſe "at preſent, than, by what means, you may eradicate theſe "evils out of the commonwealth, and, all, with one conſent, "prefer public to private conſiderations, in every meaſure "we purſue: For the power of the commonwealth, when "unanimous, is ſufficient to give both ſecurity to our allies, "and fear to our enemies: But, when divided, as at preſent, "it can effect neither. And I ſhould wonder, if it did not, "even, deſtroy itſelf, and yield the victory to the enemy "without any trouble: Which, by Jupiter, and all the "other gods, will, ſoon, happen, if we continue to purſue "the ſame principles of government.

XXXVI. "For we are divided, as you ſee, from one "another, and inhabit two cities; one of which is governed "by poverty, and neceſſity, and the other by ſatiety, and "pride;

" pride; while modeſty, order, and juſtice, by which alone " every civil community can be preſerved, is to be found in " neither: For which reaſon, we exact juſtice from one " another by violence, and make ſuperior ſtrength the " meaſure of that juſtice; chuſing rather, like wild beaſts, " to deſtroy our enemy, though we periſh with him, than, " by conſulting our own ſafety, to be preſerved together " with our adverſary. Theſe things I deſire you will, ſeri- " ouſly, conſider, and deliberate, particularly, concerning " them, as ſoon as you have diſmiſſed the embaſſadors. " As to the anſwers, to be, now, given to them, This is what " I have to adviſe: Since the Volſci demand reſtitution of " what we are in poſſeſſion of by the right of conqueſt, and " threaten us with a war, if we refuſe to reſtore it, let our " anſwer be, that we Romans look upon thoſe acquiſitions " to be the moſt honeſt, and the moſt juſt, which we have " acquired by the laws of war; and will not endure to ob- " literate valor with folly, in reſtoring them to thoſe, who " could not keep them: And that we will endeavour, by " force of arms, both to ſecure the poſſeſſion of them to our- " ſelves, and to leave it to our poſterity: Whereas, if we did " otherwiſe, we ſhould treat ourſelves with the ſeverity of " an enemy. As to the Latines, we ought to commend their " affections, and diſpel their fears, by aſſuring them that we " will not abandon them in any danger they ſhall expoſe " themſelves to upon our account, while they continue " faithful to us; but will, ſhortly, ſend a force ſufficient to " defend them. Theſe anſwers, I judge, will be the beſt,

" and

" and the moſt agreeable to juſtice. After the embaſſadors " are diſmiſſed, I think, we ought to dedicate the firſt " meeting of the ſenate to the conſideration of the tumults " in the city, and that this meeting ought not to be deferred, " but appointed for to-morrow."

XXXVII. Lartius having delivered this opinion, and every one applauding it, the embaſſadors received the anſwers he had adviſed, and departed. The next day, the conſuls aſſembled the ſenate, and propoſed to them to take into conſideration the means of appeaſing the civil diſſentions: When Publius Virginius, a popular man, being firſt aſked his opinion, took a middle way, and ſaid; " Since the " people, laſt year, ſhewed the greateſt earneſtneſs to ſerve " the commonwealth, and, in conjunction with us, ingaged " the Volſci, and Aurunci, when they invaded us with great " armies, I think that all, who, then, aſſiſted us, and took " their ſhare in thoſe wars, ought to be diſcharged of their " debts; and that neither their perſons, nor fortunes ought to " be ſubject to their creditors: That the ſame immunity ought " to extend to their parents, as far as their grandfathers; " and to their poſterity, as far as their grandchildren: And " that all the reſt ought to be liable to impriſonment at the " ſuit of their creditors upon the terms of their reſpective " obligations." After him, Titus Lartius ſaid; " My opi- " nion, fathers, is, that, not only, thoſe, who fought, bravely, " in the wars, but all the reſt of the people, alſo, be diſ- " charged of their debts: For this is the only means of re- " ſtoring harmony to the whole city."

XXXVIII. The third perſon, who ſpoke, was Appius Claudius, the conſul of the former year, who roſe up, and ſaid; "As often as theſe matters have been debated, fathers, "I was, always, of the ſame opinion, that is, never to yield "to the people in any thing, that is not founded on law, "and juſtice; nor to debaſe the dignity of the common- "wealth: Neither do I, even now, change the opinion, "which I, firſt, entertained: For I ſhould be the weakeſt of "all men, if, laſt year, when I was conſul, and my collegue "oppoſed me, and inflamed the people againſt me, I reſiſted, "and adhered to my reſolutions, unſhaken by fear, and "unmoved by intreaties, or favor; and, now, when I am "a private man, I ſhould demit myſelf, and betray that "liberty I contended for. I know not whether you will "call this liberty of my mind, generoſity, or pride; but, as "long as I live, I will never depart from the honeſt reſo- "lution I have, long ſince, taken, never to introduce an "abolition of debts, myſelf, in favor of wicked men; but, "even, to oppoſe, with all my power, thoſe, who endeavour "to introduce it; convinced as I am that an abolition of "debts is the ſource of all vice, and corruption; and, in a "word, of the total ſubverſion of every commonwealth. "And, whether any one ſhall think that what I ſay proceeds "from prudence, or madneſs (ſince I conſider not my own "ſecurity, but That of the commonwealth) or from any "other motive, I give him free leave to think as he pleaſes: "But I will, ever, oppoſe thoſe, who ſhall introduce inno- "vations. And, ſince the times, inſtead of an abolition of

"debts,

" debts, require a great relief, I will acquaint you with the " only remedy for the preſent ſedition, which is, imme- " diately, to create a dictator; who, ſubject to no account " for the uſe he ſhall make of his authority, will force both " the ſenate, and the people to entertain ſuch ſentiments, as " are moſt advantageous to the commonwealth: For no " other can be applied to ſo great an evil."

XXXIX. This ſpeech, and motion of Appius was received by the young ſenators with a tumultuous applauſe, when Servilius, and ſome others of the ancient ſenators roſe up to oppoſe it: But they were overcome by the young men, who came thither for that purpoſe, and uſed great violence; and, at laſt, the motion of Appius carried it. After this, the conſuls, acting in concert, when moſt people expected that Appius would be declared dictator, as the only perſon capable of governing with the vigor requiſite upon that occaſion, they excluded him, and created [27] Manius Valerius,

[27] Μάνιον Οὐαλέριον. Sigonius has ſhewn, in a note upon Livy, that we muſt read Manius, and not Marcus. His brother Marcus was ſlain in the battle, that was fought near the lake Regillus, as [v] our author has, already, told us. The conſuls ſhewed more moderation, upon this occaſion, than the ſenate, and, probably, ſaved their country by it: For no body can ſay what might have been the conſequence if the latter had conferred the dictatorſhip on a man of ſo imperious a temper as Appius, whom the people looked upon as their capital enemy, and the author of the breach of promiſe, which the ſenate had been guilty of: But [w] Livy will explain the reaſon, that induced the ſenate to prefer the violent advice of Appius to the moderate advice of Virginius: *Medium maxime, et moderatum utroque conſilium Virginii habebatur.* Sed, factione, reſpectuque rerum privatarum, quae ſemper officere, officientque publicis conſiliis, *Appius vicit: ac prope fuit ut dictator ille idem crearetur. quae res utique alienaſſet plebem periculoſiſſimo tempore, quum Volſci, Aequique, et Sabini forte una omnes in armis eſſent. Sed curae fuit conſulibus et ſenioribus patrum, ut imperium, ſuo vehemens, manſueto permitteretur ingenio.*

[v] C. 12. [w] B ii. c. 30.

a brother of Publius the firſt conſul, dictator; a perſon in years, and like to approve himſelf a moſt popular man: For they looked upon the terror alone of this magiſtracy to be ſufficient; and that the preſent ſituation of affairs required a perſon mild in all reſpects, that he might occaſion no freſh diſturbances.

XL. After Valerius was inveſted with this magiſtracy, he appointed Quintus Servilius, brother to Servilius, who had been the colleague of Appius, to be his general of the horſe, and ſummoned the people to an aſſembly. And great numbers aſſiſting for the firſt time ſince Servilius had reſigned his magiſtracy, and the people, by being forced into the ſervice, had been driven to open deſpair, he aſcended the tribunal, and ſaid; "Citizens, we are very ſenſible that you take a pleaſure "in being, always, governed by ſome of the Valerian fa- "mily; by whom you were freed from a ſevere tyranny, and "never failed of obtaining any thing, that was reaſonable, "when you placed your confidence in thoſe, who are looked "upon, and are, the moſt popular of all men. So that, I "need not inform you that we ſhall ſecure to you that liberty, "which we, at firſt, beſtowed upon you; but only exhort "you, in few words, to be aſſured that we ſhall perform "whatever we promiſe you: For I am arrived to that "maturity of age, which is the leaſt capable of impoſition, "and to that ſufficiency of dignity, which abhors the leaſt "appearance of deceit: Add to this, that I ſhall paſs the "remainder of my life among you, accountable to you for "any practice you may think I have made uſe of to inſnare "you.

" you. Theſe things I ſhall omit as requiring not many " words, as I ſaid, becauſe I ſpeak to thoſe, who are ac- " quainted with them. But there is one thing, which, " having ſuffered from others, you ſeem, with reaſon, to " ſuſpect of all; you have, ever, obſerved that the conſuls, " when they want to ingage you to march againſt the " enemy, promiſe to obtain for you what you deſire of the " ſenate; but never perform any thing they have promiſed: " That you can have no reaſon to entertain the ſame ſuſpi- " cions of me alſo, I will convince you, chiefly, by theſe " two conſiderations; the firſt, that the ſenate would never " have abuſed my perſon, who am looked upon as the greateſt " patron of the people, by impoſing this office upon me, " when there are others fitter for it; and the other, that " they would not have honoured me with this ſovereign " magiſtracy, by which I am inveſted with a power of en- " acting whatever I think beſt, even without their parti- " cipation.

XLI. " Imagine not, then, that I am capable of joining " with them to deceive you, or that I have concerted with " them any criminal deſign againſt you: For, if you enter- " tain theſe thoughts of me, as if I was the moſt deceitful " of all men, treat me as you pleaſe; but believe what I " I ſay, and baniſh this ſuſpicion from your minds: Turn " your anger from your friends to your enemies, who are " coming with a deſign to take your city, to transform you, " from free men, to ſlaves, haſtening to inflict every other " ſeverity on you, which mankind ſtands moſt in fear of, and

" are,

" are, now, ſaid to be not far from your confines. Receive " them, therefore, with alacrity, and ſhew them that the " power of the Romans, though agitated with ſedition, is " ſuperior to any other, when unanimous; and be aſſured " they will either not ſuſtain our united attack, or ſuffer " condign puniſhment for their boldneſs. Conſider that " theſe men, who invade you, are Volſci, and Sabines, whom " you have, often, overcome in battle; who have neither " larger bodies, nor braver minds now, than thoſe you, be- " fore, conquered, and only deſpiſe you, becauſe they think " you divided. When you have taken revenge on your " enemies, I myſelf undertake that the ſenate will reward " you, both by compoſing theſe conteſts concerning the " debts, and by granting every thing elſe you can, reaſon- " ably, deſire of them, in a manner adequate to the valor " you ſhall ſhew in the war. And, till then, let all the " poſſeſſions, all the perſons, and all the [28] families of every

28. Πασα δε συγγενεια. The editions, and manuſcripts have πασαι δε επιθυμια, which all the tranſlators have endeavoured to make ſomething of, except le Jay, who has left it out. The others have rendered it, *Honor*, *Reputation*, or ſomething equivalent. This is, certainly, the ſenſe of the word; but, how will this ſenſe agree with the conſtruction? Valerius ſays, according to the text, as it ſtands, αφιεσθω πασαι επιθυμια αξιουσιας απο τε δανειε, etc. that is, *let all the* reputations *of the Romans be diſcharged of debts without ſecurity*. If επιθυμια be taken in another ſenſe, which it will alſo bear, I mean That of a *Fine*, the expreſſion will be, equally, abſurd: For it will then ſignify, *Let their* Fines *be diſcharged of debts*. Reduced, therefore, to this alternative, either to write nonſenſe, or to make an alteration in the text, I have choſen the latter, and ſubſtituted συγγενεια to επιθυμια. But, in order to juſtify this alteration, I ſhall lay before the reader the declaration made by Servilius not long before, which very much reſembles this: [x] He there ſays; τας τ̃ων οικιας μηδενα εξειναι μητε καθεχειν, μητε πωλειν, μητε ενεχυραζειν, μητε

x C. 29.

" Roman

" Roman citizen be diſcharged without ſecurity both from " debts, and every other obligation: And to thoſe, who " ſhall fight bravely, the moſt glorious crown of victory " will be the preſervation of their country, which gave them " birth; and glorious will be the praiſe they will receive " from their fellow-ſoldiers, together with the ornaments " to be beſtowed by us, which will be ſufficient both to " reſtore their fortunes by their value, and to illuſtrate " their families by their honors. I deſire, alſo, that my " alacrity, in expoſing myſelf to danger, may be your ex- " ample: For I will fight for my country with the ſame " ſpirit, as the moſt robuſt among you."

XLII. While he was ſpeaking, the people heard him with great pleaſure, as fearing no more to be impoſed upon; and promiſed their aſſiſtance in the war: Ten legions were raiſed, every one of which conſiſted of four thouſand men: Of theſe each of the conſuls took three, and as many of the horſe, as belonged to the three legions: The other four, together with the reſt of the horſe, were commanded by the dictator: And, having got every thing ready, they took the field immediately, Titus Veturius marching againſt the Aequi, Aulus Virginius againſt the Volſci, and the dictator himſelf againſt the Sabines. The city was guarded by Titus

ΓΕΝΟΣ αὐτῶν ἀταξίαν πρὸς μηδὲν συμβολαῖον. By this, it appears that the families of the debtors were liable to be carried to priſon for the debts of the maſters of them. This exemption, which was a very material one, will be omitted in the declaration of Valerius, if we read ἐπίλοιπα, beſides the inconvenience, already, mentioned: Whereas, if we read συζυγίαν, this immunity will be provided for, and that word will have the ſame ſignification in the declaration of Valerius with γένος αὐτῶν in That of Servilius.

Lartius

Lartius with thoſe of a more advanced age, and a ſmall body of the younger ſort. The Volſcian war was ſoon determined: For, looking upon themſelves as much ſuperior in number, and forgetting their former defeats, they were forced to fight with greater haſte, than prudence; and firſt attacked the Romans, which they did, as ſoon as they had incamped within ſight of one another: And a ſharp battle inſuing, in which they, having performed many brave actions, and ſuffered greater loſſes, were put to flight: Their camp was taken, and a city of note reduced by a ſiege: The name of which was [29] Velitrae. In the ſame manner, the pride of the Sabines was, alſo, humbled in a very ſhort time, the two nations deſiring to decide the fate of the war by one battle. After which, their country was laid waſte, and ſome ſmall towns were taken, in which the ſoldiers found many ſlaves, and great riches. The Aequi, who ſuſpected their own weakneſs, being informed of the event of the war with their allies, incamped in their faſtneſſes, declining an ingagement; and, retreating, as they could, through woods, and over the tops of mountains, they deferred the concluſion of the war for ſome time: But were not able to preſerve their army unhurt to the laſt, the Romans, boldly, falling upon them, though defended by ſteep places, and taking their camp by ſtorm. After which, they fled out of the territories of the Latines; and the cities they had taken in their firſt irruption, were ſurrendered, and Thoſe, of which they, obſtinately, defended the citadels, were taken.

[29] Ουελίτραι. See the thirty eighth annotation on the third book.

XLIII.

XLIII. Valerius, having ſucceeded in this war according to his deſire, triumphed, in the uſual manner, on account of his victory, and diſcharged the people from the ſervice, which the ſenate looked upon as premature, fearing the poor might demand the execution of their promiſes. After this, he ſent a colony to poſſeſs the lands they had conquered from the Volſci, chuſing out the poorer ſort for this purpoſe, to the intent they might, not only, ſecure the conquered country, but, alſo, leſſen the number of ſeditious citizens. Having done this, he deſired the ſenate to perform the promiſes they had made to him, ſince they had, now, received the fruits of the alacrity the people had ſhewn in the late ingagements. However, the ſenate paid no regard to him; but, as before, the young, and violent men, who were ſuperior to the others in number, had formed a faction to oppoſe that motion, ſo they, now, oppoſed it in the ſame manner, and clamoured, violently, againſt him, calling his family the flatterers of the people, and the authors of deſtructive laws. And Valerius, being informed that theſe men, particularly, complained of the appeal from the courts of juſtice, given by the Valerian law, as of an inſtitution, by which the power of the patricians was, totally, ſubverted, he, greatly, lamented his misfortune; and, reproaching them with having [30] expoſed him to the unjuſt reſentment of the

30. Διαβεβλημενος ὑπ' αὐλων προς τον δημον. The tranſlators have underſtood this as if the enemies of Valerius had accuſed him to the people: But this is not the ſenſe; the people would not have encouraged ſuch an accuſation. Valerius complains that the ſenate, by violating the promiſe they had made to him, and he, by their direction, to the people, had expoſed him to their re-

people, he bewailed the unfortunate events, with which their reſolutions would be attended; and, as it, often, happens in ſuch diſtreſs, having foretold ſome things from the emotion he was then under, and others from his ſuperior ſagacity, he went out of the ſenate; and, aſſembling the people, he ſaid; "Citizens, finding myſelf under great "obligations to you for the alacrity you have expreſſed "in giving your voluntary aſſiſtance in the war at my "deſire, and ſtill more for the bravery you have ſhewn "in the ſeveral ingagements, I was very deſirous of making "a return to you in all things, particularly in not diſap-"pointing the hopes I gave you, in the name of the ſenate; "and, as an adviſer, and umpire between the ſenate, and "you, in changing, at laſt, the diviſion, that, now, ſubſiſts "between you, into a perfect harmony. I am hindered "from effecting theſe things by thoſe, whoſe ſentiments are "not the moſt advantageous to the commonwealth; who "prefer, upon this occaſion, the gratification of their own "deſires to its intereſt; and who, being ſuperior to the "others both in number, and the power they derive "from their youth, rather than from their cauſe, have "prevailed: While I myſelf, as you ſee, am old, and ſo "are all my aſſiſtants, whoſe ſtrength conſiſts in counſel, "which they are incapable of ſupporting by action; [31] and

ſentment, which, with great reaſon, he calls unjuſt, ſince it ought to have been directed againſt the ſenate, and not againſt him; as it, really, happened afterwards.

[31] Και περιεσηκεν, etc. H. Stephens has obſerved that our author has imitated Thucydides upon this occaſion. The paſſage he has imitated is in the ſpeech of the Corcyraeans to the Athe-

"our

" our known zeal for the commonwealth, in general, has " ended in drawing upon us the private reſentment of both " parties: For I am cenſured by the ſenate for courting you, " and by you for ſhewing greater affection to them.

XLIV. " If, therefore, the people, after they had received " the favors they aſked, had violated the promiſes made by " me to the ſenate in their name, my apology would have " been, that you were the deceivers, but that I myſelf was " guilty of no deceit. Now, ſince the promiſes, made to " you by the ſenate, have not been performed, I am under " a neceſſity of making it appear to the people, that I am " ſo far from having any hand in the treatment you have " met with, that both you, and I are, equally, impoſed " upon, and circumvented; and I ſo much more than you, " as I am, not only, injured in being deceived in common " with you all, but am, alſo, hurt in my own reputation, " in being accuſed of having given leave to the poorer ſort " to convert the ſpoils taken from the enemy to their private " advantage, without the conſent of the ſenate; which is " interpreted to be taking upon myſelf to divide, as I think " fit, the property of the citizens; and of having diſcharged

nians, where they ſay; [y] και περιεστηκεν ἡ δοκουσα ἡμων προτερον σωφροσυνη, το μη εν αλλοτριᾳ ξυμμαχιᾳ τῃ του πελας γνωμῃ ξυγκινδυνευειν, νυν αβουλια και ασθενεια φαινομενη. Sylburgius adviſes to change φερομενη, in our author, to φαινομενη, becauſe it is ſo in Thucydides. But this I look upon to have been the very reaſon, that induced Dionyſius to make uſe of another word of the ſame import. I am very far from being fond of my tranſlation of this paſſage; but I hope the reader will be better pleaſed with my attempt to tranſlate it, than if, in imitation of my brother tranſlators, I had given him a paraphraſe of it.

[y] B. i. c. 32.

" you from the ſervice, contrary to law, and to [32] their de-
" ſire, when I ought to have kept you in the enemy's coun-
" try, and employed you in ineffectual incampments, and
" marches. I am, alſo, reproached with having ſent a colony
" into the territories of the Volſci, and with having granted
" a large, and fertil country, not to the patricians, and the
" knights, but to thoſe among you, who wanted relief.
" But the thing, which has excited the greateſt indignation
" againſt me, is, that, in raiſing the army, more than four
" hundred plebeians of good fortunes have been added to the
" knights. If, therefore, I had been, thus, treated, when I
" was in the vigor of my youth, I ſhould have ſhewn them
" what kind of a man they had abuſed: But, as I am,
" now, above ſeventy years old, and incapable of doing
" myſelf juſtice, and find that your diviſions can be, no
" longer, healed by me, I reſign my power, and ſubmit my
" perſon to be treated by thoſe, who may think I have de-
" ceived them, in ſuch a manner, as they ſhall think fit."

XLV. This ſpeech raiſed a general compaſſion in the people, who accompanied Valerius, when he left the forum; but encreaſed the reſentment of the ſenate againſt him. Immediately, the following events happened: The poorer ſort, no longer privately, and in the night as before, but, openly now, aſſembling, conſulted together concerning a ſeceſſion from the patricians; To prevent which, the ſenate ordered the conſuls not to diſband the armies as yet: For

[32] Ης γε κωλυσης. I am, intirely, of Caſaubon's opinion, who thinks the text corrupted in this place.

theſe

theſe had, ſtill, a power over the legions, who were under the obligation of their military oaths, and, for that reaſon, deemed holy, and none of the ſoldiers ventured to deſert their enſigns: So far did the fear of violating their oaths prevail with all of them. The pretence, contrived for leading out the forces, was, that the Aequi, and Sabines, had entered into an union with a deſign to make war upon the Romans. After the conſuls had marched out of the city with the armies, and incamped near to one another, the ſoldiers of both camps aſſembled together; and, having ſeized both the arms, and the enſigns, they carried away the latter, at the inſtigation of Sicinnius Bellutus, and ſeceded from the conſuls (for theſe enſigns are held in the greateſt honor by the Romans in time of war, and, like ſtatues of the gods, are accounted holy) and, having apppointed other officers, and Sicinnius their commander in chief, they poſſeſſed themſelves of a [33] certain mountain, near the river Anio, not far from Rome, which, from thence, is, ſtill, called the holy mountain. And, when the conſuls, and the reſt of the officers perſuaded them to return with prayers, tears, and many promiſes, Sicinnius anſwered; "To "what purpoſe, patricians, do you, now, recal thoſe, whom "you have driven from their country, and transformed "from free men to ſlaves? What aſſurances will you give

33· Ορος τι καλαλαμβανομενον. This mountain was three Roman miles from Rome, on the other ſide of the Anio, as we learn from [z] Livy: *In Sacrum Montem ſeceſſiſſe trans Anienem Amnem, tria ab urbe millia paſſuum.* On this hill, there, now, ſtands a caſtle, called, [a] *Caſtello di S. Silveſtro.*

[z] B. ii. c. 32. [a] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 9.

"us

" us for the performance of thoſe promiſes, which, it is " plain, you have, already, ſo often violated? But, ſince " you deſire to have the ſole poſſeſſion of the city, return " thither undiſturbed by the poor and the obſcure: We " ſhall be content to live in any part of the world, in which " we may enjoy our liberty; and, wherever it may be, we " ſhall look upon that place, as our country."

XLVI. When thoſe in the city were informed of theſe things, there was a great tumult, and lamentation, and a concourſe in every ſtreet; the people preparing to leave the city, and the patricians endeavouring to diſſuade them, and offering violence to thoſe, who refuſed to obey. And a great clamor, wailing, and hoſtile words were heard at the gates, and hoſtile actions committed, while none diſtinguiſhed either age, friendſhip, or the dignity due to virtue. When the guards, appointed by the ſenate to prevent the people from going out of the city, being few in number, were unable, any longer, to reſiſt them, and forced from their poſt, the people ruſhed out in great multitudes, and the face of things appeared like a city taken by ſtorm; and the lamentations of ſuch, as were left behind, and the mutual accuſations were heard of thoſe, who ſaw the city upon the point of being deſerted. After this, there were frequent conſultations in the ſenate, where the perſons, who had given occaſion to the ſeceſſion, were, ſeverely, cenſured. At the ſame time, their enemies, alſo, invaded them, laying waſte their territories to the gates of Rome. However, the ſeceders, taking the neceſſary proviſions from the country, that lay near

near them, without doing any other miſchief to it, remained in the field, and received ſuch, as reſorted to them from the city, and the neareſt fortreſſes, who were, already, come to them in great numbers: For, not only, thoſe, who were deſirous to fly from their debts, judgements, and other ſeverities they expected, flocked to them, but many others alſo, who led lazy, or diſſolute lives, or whoſe fortunes were not ſufficient to gratify their paſſions; or men of bad principles, or envious of the proſperity of others; or, through any calamity, or other cauſe, enemies to the preſent eſtabliſhment.

XLVII. The patricians, at firſt, were full of diſorder, and aſtoniſhment, fearing leſt the ſeceders ſhould join with their foreign enemies, and, preſently, beſiege the city. After that, they took arms at once, as if the ſignal had been given; and, being attended with their clients, ſome poſted themſelves in the roads, by which they expected the enemy would approach; others marched to the fortreſſes in order to ſecure them; and others incamped in the fields before the city: And thoſe, who, by reaſon of their age, were unable to do any thing of this kind, placed themſelves upon the walls. But, when they heard that the ſeceders did neither join the enemy, lay waſte the country, nor do any other miſchief worth ſpeaking of, they were freed from their fear; and, changing their reſolutions, conſidered, upon what terms, they ſhould come to an agreement with them: And ſpeeches of every kind, directly oppoſite to one another, were made by the leading men of the ſenate;

but

but the moſt moderate, and the beſt adapted to the preſent juncture, were Thoſe of the oldeſt ſenators, who ſhewed that the people had not made this ſeceſſion from them with any malicious deſign, but, partly, compelled by irreſiſtible calamities, and, partly, deluded by their adviſers, and judging of their intereſt by paſſion rather than reaſon; a misfortune ignorance is liable to: And that the greateſt part of them were conſcious to themſelves of having taken wrong meaſures, and ſeeking an opportunity of redeeming their offences with decency. As a proof of which, they, already, acted like men repenting; and, if encouraged with favourable hopes by a vote of the ſenate for their impunity, and by propoſals for an honourable accommodation, they would, chearfully, return home. The ſenators, who adviſed this, deſired that men of the greateſt worth would not be more implacable than Thoſe of inferior merit, nor defer an accommodation till mad men ſhould be either taught wiſdom by neceſſity, or induced by it to cure a ſmaller evil by a greater, in depriving themſelves of liberty, by delivering up their arms, and ſurrendering their perſons at diſcretion: For theſe things were next to impoſſible. They ought, therefore, to treat the people with moderation; to ſet the example of ſalutary counſels, and to be the firſt to propoſe an accommodation; when they conſidered that, as patricians, their duty was to govern, and take care of the commonwealth, and, as good men, to promote friendſhip, and peace: That the dignity of the ſenate would not ſuffer any diminution by, generouſly, ſupporting unavoidable calamities in order

order to ſecure the government; but by preſerving an unſeaſonable reſentment under their misfortunes, which tended to ſubvert it: And that it was folly to aim at decency, and neglect ſecurity: That both, indeed, were to be wiſhed; but, if one of them muſt be given up, ſecurity was a more neceſſary thing, than decency. They ended their advice with deſiring that, as the ſeceders had, hitherto, been guilty of no irreparable offence, embaſſadors might be ſent to them to treat of an accommodation.

XLVIII. This was approved of by the ſenate: After which, they choſe the moſt proper perſons, and ſent them to the people in the camp, with orders to inquire of them what they deſired; and, upon what terms, they thought fit to return to the city: For, if their demands were moderate, and poſſible to be complied with, the ſenate would not oppoſe them. If, therefore, they, now, laid down their arms, and returned to the city, they ſhould be intitled to an impunity for their offences, and, from henceforward, to an amneſty. And, if, they ſhall, hereafter, entertain the beſt affections for the commonwealth, and, chearfully, expoſe themſelves for the ſervice of their country, they ſhall receive honourable, and advantageous returns. The embaſſadors, having received theſe inſtructions, communicated them to the people in the camp, and ſpoke in conformity to them. But the ſeceders, rejecting theſe invitations, reproached the patricians with haughtineſs, ſeverity, and [34] great diſſimulation in pretending to be ignorant of the demands of the

34. Εἰρωνείαν. See the forty ſixth annotation on the fourth Book.

people, and of the neceſſity, which had compelled them to ſecede: That they grant them an impunity for their ſeceſſion, as if they were, ſtill, maſters, when they themſelves ſtand in need of the aſſiſtance of their fellow-citizens againſt their foreign enemies, who will, ſoon, invade them with all their forces; which they will not be in a condition, even, to face, though, now, they look upon their preſervation to be not ſo much the advantage of themſelves, as the good fortune of thoſe, who ſhall aſſiſt them. They ended their anſwer with telling them that, when they ſhould be better acquainted with the difficulties which the commonwealth laboured under, they would know what kind of adverſaries they had to deal with; and added many violent threats: To all which the embaſſadors making no anſwer, departed, and informed the patricians of the diſpoſition, in which they had found the ſeceders. When thoſe in the city were informed of theſe anſwers, their confuſions, and fears encreaſed; and the ſenate, unable either to extricate themſelves out of theſe difficulties, or to delay their operation, and being tired with the abuſes, and accuſations, which the leading men threw out againſt one another for many days together, was diſmiſſed. Neither were the plebeians, who had been induced by their affection to the patricians, or their fondneſs for their country, to ſtay in the city, in the ſame diſpoſition as before; but great part, even, of theſe, both openly, and privately, ſtole away, and there ſeemed to be no dependance upon thoſe, who were left. In this ſituation of affairs, the conſuls (for the remaining time of their magiſtracy was not long) appointed a day for the election of magiſtrates. XLIX.

XLIX. When the time came, in which the aſſembly was to be held in the field, in order to their election, no perſon either offering himſelf for the conſulſhip, or venturing to accept it, if conferred upon him, the people themſelves created two conſuls, who had, before, been inveſted with that magiſtracy, and who were acceptable both to the people, and to the ariſtocracy: Theſe were Poſtumus Cominius, and Spurius Caſſius, under whom the Sabines, ſubdued by their arms, had reſigned the ſovereignty: They were rechoſen in the [35] ſeventy ſecond Olympiad, in which Tiſicrates of Croton won the prize of the ſtadium, Diognetus being then archon at Athens. Theſe, having entered upon their magiſtracy on the calends of September, ſooner than had been cuſtomary for the former conſuls, the firſt thing they did, was to aſſemble the ſenate, in order to take their opinion concerning the return of the plebeians: The firſt ſenator they called upon to deliver his ſentiments, was Agrippa Menenius, a man, then, in the maturity of his age, and looked upon as a perſon of ſuperior wiſdom: He was, particularly, commended for his principles of government, and for taking a middle courſe; being inclined neither to encreaſe the pride of the ariſtocratical party, nor to ſuffer the licentiouſneſs of the people. This perſon adviſed the ſenate to an accommodation by the following ſpeech: "Fathers, if all, who are "preſent, were of the ſame opinion; if no man would oppoſe "an accommodation with the people; and that the terms

35. Επι της Ολυμπιαδος δευτερας. So we muſt read it with Lapus, Gelenius, and Sylburgius; and not ἑβδομης, as it ſtands in the editions, and manuſcripts.

" of it, whether they are juſt, or unjuſt, were only to be " conſidered, I ſhould deliver my ſentiments in few words: " But, ſince ſome look even upon this, as a matter of " conſultation, whether we ought to agree with the ſeceders, " or go to war with them, I do not think it eaſy for me to " ſupport the advice I ſhall give you, by a ſhort diſcuſſion: " On the contrary, it is neceſſary for me to extend my " diſcourſe to a greater length, in order to convince thoſe " among you, who oppoſe an accommodation, that they " contradict themſelves, when they go about to frighten us " with thoſe evils, that are moſt inconſiderable, and eaſily " reformed; and, at the ſame time, careleſſly enough neglect " the greateſt, and Thoſe, that are incurable. This contra- " diction they fall into for no other reaſon, than becauſe " they do not judge of what is expedient by reaſon, but by " paſſion, and fury: For how can theſe men be ſaid to " foreſee what is expedient, or poſſible, who imagine that " ſo powerful a commonwealth, miſtreſs of ſo extenſive an " adminiſtration, already envied by, and grievous to, her " neighbours, will be able either eaſily to reſtrain, and pro- " tect the nations in ſubjection to her without the plebeians, " or to bring another leſs wicked people into the city, in the " room of this, who ſhall fight for their ſovereignty, and " live with them under the ſame government, in profound " quiet, behaving themſelves with modeſty both in peace, " and war? For they can alledge nothing elſe in ſupport of " their opinion, when they deſire us not to receive an ac- " commodation.

L. " How

L. " How weak either of thoſe two expedients is, I deſire " you will conſider from the facts themſelves, and reflect that, " when the lower ſort among the people grew diſaffected to " you by reaſon of thoſe, who treated their misfortunes, " neither like fellow-citizens, nor like moderate men, and, " afterwards, withdrew, indeed, from the city, but neither " do, nor have any thought of doing you, any other miſchief, " and conſider only, by what means, they may be re- " conciled to you without diſhonor, many of thoſe, who " are not well diſpoſed to you, joyfully, ſeized this incident " preſented to them by Fortune; and, exulting in their " thoughts, looked upon this, as the juncture they had long " wiſhed for to deprive you of the ſovereignty. For the " Aequi, the Volſci, the Sabines, and the Hernici, who have, " never, ceaſed to make war againſt us, are, now, exaſpe- " rated at their late defeats, and, already, divide among " themſelves the territories we are poſſeſſed of. As to the " people of Campania, and Tyrrhenia, whom we left waver- " ing in their affections towards us, ſome of them, openly, " revolt from us, and others are, privately, preparing to do " the ſame. The Latines, alſo, our relations, ſeem, no longer, " to retain for us that friendſhip they had aſſured us of, but " many, even, of theſe are ſaid to labor under the general " diſtemper, a fondneſs for a change. While we, who uſed " to beſiege the cities of others, are now ſhut up in our own, " leaving our lands uncultivated, and ſeeing our country " houſes plundered, our cattle driven away, and our ſlaves " deſerting, without knowing what reſolutions to take under

" theſe

" theſe misfortunes. And theſe things we ſuffer ſtill expect-
" ing the people ſhould ſue to us for an accommodation,
" when we know it is in our own power to put an end to
" the ſedition by a ſingle vote.

LI. " While our affairs are in this unhappy poſture
" abroad, Thoſe in the city are in no leſs terrible a condition.
" For we have not provided ourſelves with allies before-
" hand, as if we expected to be beſieged, neither are our
" numbers ſufficient to reſiſt ſo many nations of enemies:
" The greateſt part of our ſmall, and weak army conſiſts of
" plebeians, of our own ſervants, and clients, and of artificers;
" feeble ſupports of a ſhaken ariſtocracy. And the continual
" deſertions of theſe to the ſeceders have rendered all the
" reſt liable to ſuſpicion. But, above all theſe things, the
" impoſſibility of bringing in proviſions, while the country
" is in the power of the enemy, threatens us with a famine;
" and, when we are once in want, will threaten us ſtill more.
" But, beſides this war, which gives us no reſt, it ſurpaſſes
" every thing, that is dreadful, to ſee the wives, the infant
" children, and aged parents of the ſeceders running about
" the forum, and through every ſtreet, their habits mournful,
" and their looks diſtreſſed, with tears in their eyes, ſuppli-
" cating, embracing the hands, and knees of every one, and
" bewailing the forlorn condition they are reduced to, and ſtill
" more, That, which threatens them; a cruel, and intolerable
" ſight! None, ſure, are ſo inhuman, as not to be moved,
" when they ſee theſe things, nor to compaſſionate the miſ-
" fortunes of their fellow-creatures. So that, if we are to place

" no

" no confidence in the plebeians, we muſt ſend away all theſe
" alſo, ſome of them being of no uſe in a ſiege, and others,
" not to be relied on. And, when theſe too are ſent away,
" what forces will be left to defend the city? And what aſ-
" ſiſtance can we depend upon to dare to encounter theſe ter-
" rors? For the natural refuge, and the only hope to be con-
" fided in, the patrician youth, is inconſiderable, as you ſee,
" and not worth our glorying in. What! are thoſe, who adviſe
" us to ſuſtain a ſiege, triflers, and do they impoſe upon us,
" or do they not rather, openly, adviſe us to deliver up the city
" at once to our enemies without blood, and without trouble?

LII. " But I myſelf, perhaps, magnify theſe apprehenſions,
" and would have you fear things, that are not formidable:
" The commonwealth may be threatened with no other dan-
" ger, than a change of inhabitants, a thing of no great con-
" ſequence: And we may, with great eaſe, bring hither a num-
" ber of ſervants, and clients from every nation, and every
" place. For this is what many of the oppoſers of the plebeians
" throw out, and theſe are, certainly, not the leaſt conſider-
" able among us: Some being arrived to that pitch of folly,
" as to deliver impoſſible wiſhes, inſtead of ſalutary opinions.
" Theſe I would, willingly, aſk what leiſure we ſhall have
" to execute this project, when the enemy is ſo near the
" city? What allowance will be made for the delay of future
" aſſiſtance, when we are in the midſt of actual, and preſent
" evils? And what man, or what god will grant us, quietly,
" to raiſe ſuccours from all parts, and, ſafely, conduct them
" hither? Beſides, who are the people, who will leave their

" own

" own countries, and remove to us? Are they ſuch, as have " habitations, families, fortunes, and are reſpected by their " fellow-citizens for the luſtre of their anceſtors, or the " reputation of their own virtue? And who would ſubmit " to leave the enjoyment of his own happineſs, in order to " ſhare, with indignity, the misfortunes of others? For they " will not come hither to partake of peace, and luxury, but " of dangers, and of war, the event of which is doubtful. " Or, ſhall we bring hither a mean ſort of people, who " have no habitations, like thoſe driven from hence, who, " to avoid their debts, judgements, and other calamities of " that nature, are glad to remove to any place Fortune throws " in their way? Theſe, though otherwiſe of a good, and " modeſt diſpoſition, that we may grant them this alſo, yet, " from their being neither born here, bred here, nor ac- " quainted with our cuſtoms, laws, and education, would " be far, nay, in every reſpect, worſe than our own.

LIII. " The natives have their wives, children, parents, " and many other friends among us, as pledges, and a fond- " neſs, without doubt, for the place, where they have been " bred, which is an innate paſſion, and not to be eradicated: " While the others we propoſe to bring hither, this people " without houſe, or home, if they ſhould live among us, hav- " ing none of theſe pledges here, in defence of what advan- " tages ſhould they expoſe themſelves to dangers, unleſs " we were to promiſe them a part of the lands, and of the " city, and diſpoſſeſs the preſent owners of both, which are " things we refuſe to grant to our own citizens, who have, " often,

" often, fought in their defence. And, poſſibly, they might " not be content even with theſe grants alone, but would, " alſo, inſiſt upon an equal ſhare of honors, of magiſtracies, " and of all other advantages with the patricians. If, " therefore, we do not grant them every one of their de- " mands, they will be our enemies, becauſe they have not " obtained them. And, if we grant their demands, our " country, and our conſtitution will be deſtroyed, and de- " ſtroyed by our own hands. I do not add, here, that we " want well diſciplined men at this juncture, not huſband- " men, ſervants, merchants, or artificers, who will be obliged " to learn military diſcipline, and put it in practice at the " ſame time: And the practice of every thing is difficult to " thoſe, who are not accuſtomed to it: And ſuch muſt, " neceſſarily, be men collected, and reſorting hither, from " every nation. As for ſoldiers, I neither ſee any raiſed by " your allies to aſſiſt you, neither, if any, unexpectedly, ap- " peared, ſhould I adviſe you to admit them, inconſiderately, " within your walls, ſince we know that many cities have " been inſlaved by troops, introduced to defend them.

LIV. " When you conſider theſe things, and what I " have, before, ſaid, and, alſo, recollect the motives, which " invite you to an accommodation, that we are not the only, " nor the firſt, people, among whom poverty has quarrelled " with riches, and obſcurity with luſtre; but, in all cities, " as I may ſay, both great, and ſmall, the inferiors are, " generally, enemies to their ſuperiors: In all which cities, " the men in power, when they acted with moderation,

" ſaved their countries; but, when with pride, they loſt " their lives, together with all the other advantages they " had ſtruggled for: And, when you remember that every " thing, compoſed of many parts, is, often, affected with a " diſorder in ſome one of them: And, beſides, that neither " the affected part of a human body, ought, always, to be " cut off; for, that would be to render the reſt deformed, " and of ſhort duration; nor the diſordered part of a civil " ſociety to be driven out; for, by that means, the whole " would, in time, aſſuredly be deſtroyed by the loſs of its " particular parts: And conſider, alſo, the power of neceſ- " ſity, to which alone the gods ſubmit, quarrel not with " your misfortunes, nor ſuffer yourſelves to be filled with " pride, and ignorance, as if every thing were to ſucceed " according to your wiſhes; but relent, and yield, deriving " examples of prudence, not from the actions of others, " but from your own.

LV. " For every man, and every community ought to " emulate the moſt illuſtrious of their own actions, and " to endeavour that all the reſt may correſpond with them. " Thus, you yourſelves have ſubdued many of your enemies, " by whom you had been injured in the higheſt degree; " but you deſired neither to deſtroy them, nor drive them " out of their poſſeſſions: On the contrary, you reſtored " their houſes, and lands to them, and ſuffered them to " live in the countries, that gave them birth; and have " already, granted the rights both of ſuffrage, and of Roman " citizens to ſome of them. But I have yet a more wonderful

" action

" action of yours to relate; which is, that you have ſuffered
" offences of a high nature, committed by many, even, of
" your own citizens, to go unpuniſhed, while the authors
" of them alone felt the weight of your reſentment: Of
" this number were the colonies ſent out to Antemnae,
" Cruſtumerium, Medullia, Fidenae, and to many other
" places: For, to what purpoſe ſhould I, now, enumerate
" all thoſe, whom, after you had taken their towns by ſtorm,
" you corrected with moderation, and as became fellow-
" citizens? And the commonwealth has been ſo far from
" incurring either danger, or cenſure by this conduct, that
" her clemency is applauded, and her ſecurity not at all
" diminiſhed. After that, will you, who ſpare your enemies,
" make war upon your friends? Who ſuffer the conquered
" to go unpuniſhed, puniſh thoſe, by whoſe aſſiſtance you
" have conquered? Who allow your city to be a ſafe refuge
" for all, who ſtand in need of it, reſolve to drive out of
" that city the natives, with whom you have been bred,
" and educated, and with whom you have ſhared many
" good, and bad events, both in peace, and in war? No,
" you will not, if you deſire to act with juſtice, and in a
" manner agreeable to your former behaviour, and judge of
" your intereſt without paſſion.

LVI. " But, ſome may ſay, we are not leſs convinced
" than you that the ſedition ought to be appeaſed, and we
" have, earneſtly, deſired it: It is, now, incumbent on you
" to ſhew, by what means we may appeaſe it: For you ſee
" how imperious the people are grown; who, though they

" themſelves are the offenders, neither ſend to us to treat of " an accommodation, nor return ſuch anſwers to thoſe we " have ſent to them, as become men, or fellow-citizens; " but aſſume an exceſſive haughtineſs, and threaten; ſo " that, it is not eaſy to gueſs what they aim at. Hear, then, " in what manner I adviſe you to act in this ſituation: For " my own part, I do not look upon the people to be irre- " concilable to us, neither do I think they will execute any " of their threats: My reaſon is, that their actions do not " agree with their words; and I am of opinion that they " are far more earneſt than we ourſelves are to bring matters " to an accommodation: For we live in our own country, " which is moſt dear to us, and have in our own power " our fortunes, our houſes, our parents, and every thing we " moſt eſteem: While they are baniſhed from their city, " and from their habitations, are deprived of their neareſt " relations, and ſtraitened in their daily ſupport. If any " one ſhould aſk me, for what reaſon, then, do not the " people, even under theſe miſeries, accept our invitations, " and why do they themſelves not ſend to treat with us? " I ſhould aſſuredly, anſwer, becauſe they are amuſed with " fair words by the ſenate, but ſee no act of benevolence, " or moderation flow from thoſe words, and look upon " themſelves to have been, often, deceived by us, while we, " always, promiſe to give them ſome relief, and give them " none. They cannot reſolve to ſend deputies to us, from " their apprehenſion of thoſe, who are accuſtomed to inveigh " againſt them here, and, alſo, leſt their deſires ſhould be " rejected:

" rejected: Poſſibly too, they may be poſſeſſed with ſome " fooliſh pride; no wonder: Since there are ſome even " among us, who are influenced by the ſame litigious, and " and contentious ſpirit; and, like the vulgar, cannot bear " to be overcome by their adverſaries; but, always, ſeek to " conquer by any means whatever, and never confer a favor, " before they have ſubdued thoſe, who are to have the " benefit of it. When I conſider theſe things, I think we " ought to ſend an embaſſy to the plebeians, conſiſting of " ſuch perſons, as they can moſt confide in: And that the " perſons, ſo to be ſent, be inveſted with a diſcretionary " power to put an end to the ſedition upon ſuch terms, as " they themſelves ſhall think fit, without any further appli- " cation to the ſenate: For the people, who, now, ſeem " haughty, and intractable, will be ſenſible of this; and, " finding that you promote an accommodation in earneſt, " will deſcend to more moderate conditions, and demand " nothing of us, that is either diſhonourable, or impoſſible: " For all men inflamed with anger, particularly thoſe of a " low condition, when treated imperiouſly, are inraged; and, " when courted, appeaſed."

LVII. When Menenius had done ſpeaking, a general murmur ran through the ſenate, and each party held conſultations together: The patrons of the people exhorting one another to exert themſelves, in order to bring back the plebeians to their country, ſince they had now, at their head, the moſt conſiderable man of the ariſtocratical party: And thoſe of this party, who made it a point to ſuffer no altera-

alteration in the eſtabliſhed form of government, were at a loſs how to behave themſelves in the preſent juncture, being unwilling to change their opinion, and unable to perſiſt in it. While thoſe, who were uningaged in either party, and entered into the conteſts of neither, deſired to ſee peace reſtored, and that the ſenate would conſider of the proper means to prevent the city from being beſieged. When all were ſilent, the elder of the conſuls celebrated the generoſity of Menenius, and recommended to the reſt to ſhew the ſame zeal for the public, and, not only, to ſpeak their ſentiments with freedom, but to execute their reſolutions without fear; and called upon another ſenator by name, in the ſame manner, to deliver his opinion: This was Manius Valerius, a brother of the perſon, who had aſſiſted in delivering his country from the kings; a man, of all the ariſtocratical party, the moſt acceptable to the people.

LVIII. Who, riſing up, firſt put the ſenate in mind of the meaſures he himſelf had purſued, when a magiſtrate, and that he had, often, foretold the dangers they would be expoſed to, and they, as often, neglected his predictions. He, then, deſired that thoſe, who oppoſed an accommodation, would not, at this time, conſider the reaſonableneſs of the terms; but, ſince they would not ſuffer the ſedition to be appeaſed, while it was yet in its infancy, now, at leaſt, to conſider, by what means a ſpeedy end might be put to it, leſt, by making a further progreſs, it might, inſenſibly, become perhaps incurable, or, at leaſt, hard to be cured, and produce great evils: He told them that the demands

of

of the plebeians would, no longer, be the ſame as before; neither did he think they would agree with them upon the ſame terms, or be contented with an abolition of their debts; but that they would, poſſibly, inſiſt even upon ſome protection, under which they might, for the future, live ſecurely: For that, ſince the inſtitution of the dictatorſhip, the guardian law of their liberty was aboliſhed; which law allowed no citizen to be put to death by the magiſtrates without a trial, nor any of the plebeians, who had been condemned by the patricians, when tried, to be delivered up to the magiſtrates, who condemned them; but granted to thoſe, who deſired it, a right of appealing from the patricians to the people; and that the determination of theſe ſhould be final. He added that almoſt all the other privileges, before enjoyed by the plebeians, had been taken away, ſince they could not obtain from the ſenate even a triumph in favor of Publius Servilius Priſcus, who had deſerved this honor more than any man: For which reaſons, it was probable the people were diſheartened, and entertained ſmall hopes of their future ſecurity; ſince neither a conſul, nor a dictator were at liberty to take care of their intereſt, when they deſired to do it; but the concern, and care they ſhewed for the people drew upon them abuſes, and ignominy from the ſenate. That theſe things were effected by a combination, not of the moſt conſiderable perſons among the patricians, but of ſome inſolent, and avaritious men, eagerly, aiming at an unjuſt gain, who, having advanced large ſums at a high intereſt, and made ſlaves of many of their fellow-citizens, had, by treating

treating theſe in a cruel, imperious, and ſevere manner, alienated the whole body of the plebeians from the ariſtocracy; and, having formed a faction, and placed at the head of it Appius Claudius, an enemy to the people, and a favourer of oligarchy, they, under his patronage, had ruined all the affairs of the commonwealth: Which, if the ſober part of the ſenate did not oppoſe their attempts, was in danger of being inſlaved, and ſubverted. He ended with ſaying that he was of the ſame opinion with Menenius, and deſired that embaſſadors might, immediately, be ſent; and that theſe ſhould endeavour to appeaſe the ſedition upon ſuch terms, as they thought proper: But, if theſe were not conſented to, that they accept ſuch, as are offered.

LIX. After he had done ſpeaking, Appius Claudius, who was of the faction, that oppoſed the people, being called upon to deliver his ſentiments, roſe up; a man who ſet a great value upon himſelf, and not without juſt cauſe: For, in his private life, he was temperate, and ſolemn, and his political principles were noble, and tending to preſerve the dignity of the ariſtocracy: He took occaſion, from the ſpeech of Valerius, to ſpeak as follows: "Valerius would have de-
"ſerved leſs cenſure, if he had, only, delivered his own ſen-
"timents, without inveighing againſt thoſe, who are of a
"contrary opinion: For, by that means, he would have had
"the advantage of not hearing an expoſition of his own
"faults. However, ſince he has not been contented with de-
"livering ſuch an opinion, as can end in nothing elſe, than
"in making us ſlaves to the moſt profligate of the citizens,
"but

" but has, alſo, caſt reflexions upon thoſe, who differ from
" him, and attacked me perſonally, I find it, abſolutely,
" neceſſary for me, alſo, to ſpeak to theſe things; and,
" firſt, to clear myſelf of the charge he has brought againſt
" me: For he has reproached me with a conduct becoming
" neither a citizen, nor a man of worth, that, deſiring to
" get money by every method, I have deprived many of
" the poor of their liberty, and that the ſeceſſion was, chiefly,
" occaſioned through my means. Now, it is an eaſy matter
" to convince you that neither of theſe allegations is true,
" and well grounded: For, ſay, Valerius, who are thoſe I
" have inſlaved on account of their debts? Who are thoſe I
" ever kept, or now keep, in priſon? Which of the ſeceders
" is deprived of his country through my cruelty, or avarice?
" You can name none. For I am ſo far from having in-
" ſlaved any one of the citizens for debt, that, having ad-
" vanced my own money to very great numbers, I have
" cauſed none of thoſe, who did not make good their pay-
" ments, to be either ſurrendered to me, or diſcredited; but
" all of them enjoy their liberty, and all look upon them-
" ſelves to be under the ſame obligations to me with my
" friends, and clients, and are conſidered by me in the ſame
" light. When I ſay this, I mean not to accuſe any, who
" have not acted like me in this reſpect; neither do I think
" any man guilty of injuſtice, if he has done what the law
" allowed him to do; but I ſay it only to acquit myſelf of
" the accuſations brought againſt me.

LX. " As to the ſeverity, and patronage of wicked men, " with which he has reproached me, calling me an enemy " to the people, and a favourer of oligarchy, becauſe I " adhere to the ariſtocracy, theſe accuſations, equally, affect " all thoſe among you, who, being men of ſuperior worth, " think it beneath you to be governed by your inferiors, " or to ſuffer the form of government you have in- " herited from your anceſtors, to be transformed into the " worſt of all conſtitutions, a democracy. For, if this man " ſhall think fit to call the government of the beſt men, an " oligarchy, it does not, therefore, follow, that the thing " itſelf, becauſe it is traduced by that appellation, will be " impeached. While we can fix a much juſter, and a truer " reproach upon him for flattering the people, and aiming " at tyranny. Since all the world knows that every tyrant " ſprings from a flatterer of the people: And that the ſhort " way for thoſe, who deſign to inſlave their country, is That " which leads to domination through the favor of the moſt " profligate citizens, whom he himſelf has ever courted, " and courts even to this day: For you are very ſenſible that " theſe vile, and mean wretches would never have dared to " commit ſuch crimes, if they had not been encouraged by " this venerable man, this lover of his country, and told " that the action ſhould be attended with no danger; and " that it ſhould, not only, go unpuniſhed, but their condi- " tion ſhould even be improved by it. You will be convinced " of the truth of what I ſay, when you remember that, " while he was frightening you with a war, and ſhewing

" the

" the neceſſity of an accommodation, he told you, at the " ſame time, that the poor will not be contented with an " abolition of their debts, but will, alſo, inſiſt upon ſome " protection, and, no longer, ſubmit to be governed by " you, as before: And, at laſt, he exhorted you to acquieſce " under the preſent ſituation of affairs, and to grant every " thing the people ſhould think fit to demand as the con- " ditions of their return, without diſtinguiſhing whether " thoſe demands were honourable, or diſhonourable, juſt, " or unjuſt. With ſo much arrogance have the ſenſeleſs " people been inſpired by this old man, who has enjoyed " every honor we could confer upon him. Did it, then, " become you, Valerius, to charge others with the reproaches " they have not deſerved, when you yourſelf lie open to ſuch " accuſations?

LXI. " What I have ſaid is ſufficient to refute the ca- " lumnies this man has brought againſt me. Concerning " the ſubject of your preſent debate, I am, not only, of " opinion that what I firſt propoſed was juſt, worthy of this " commonwealth, and advantageous for yourſelves, but I ſtill " continue in the ſame ſentiments, and adviſe you not to " confound the order of the government, not to alter the " unalterable cuſtoms of your anceſtors, not to baniſh public " faith, a ſacred thing, from human ſociety, on which the " ſecurity of every city is founded, nor to give way to a " thoughtleſs people, who deſire unjuſt, and unlawful things: " And I am ſo far from retracting any part of my opinion, " through the fear of my adverſaries, who endeavour to

" frighten me by exciting the plebeians againſt me, that I " am much more than ever confirmed in my reſentment; " and my indignation at the demands of the people is " doubled. And I wonder, fathers, at the extraordinary " turn of your diſpoſition, that you, who refuſed to grant " to the people an abolition of their debts, and a diſcharge " from their judgements, before they were in open war " againſt you, ſhould now, when they are in arms, and " commit acts of hoſtility, ſeem willing, not only, to make " theſe conceſſions, but, alſo, to grant them every thing " elſe they deſire: And they will deſire, and the firſt of " their demands will be, to have an equal ſhare of honors " with you, and to enjoy the ſame privileges. Will not that " be to transform the government into a democracy, which, " of all conſtitutions, as I ſaid, is the moſt ſenſeleſs, and the " leaſt expedient for you, who aim at commanding others? " This, if you are wiſe, you will not do: Otherwiſe, it " would be a moſt glaring abſurdity, if you, who looked " upon it as a thing intolerable to be governed by one tyrant, " ſhould, now, deliver up yourſelves to the people, a many- " headed tyrant, and ſubmit to this without conferring an " obligation, or being perſuaded to it, but forced by neceſ- " ſity, and as if you had it not in your power to do any " thing in your preſent circumſtances, but to yield contrary " to your inclination. And, when this ſenſeleſs multitude, " inſtead of being puniſhed for their offences, ſhall even " obtain honors, as a reward for thoſe offences, how proud " and imperious do you think this will render them? For

" you

" you are not to flatter yourſelves with the hope that the " people will moderate their demands, if they know that " you all concurred in this reſolution.

LXII. " But, in this reſpect, Menenius, who is a worthy " man, and judges of the good intentions of others by his " own, is very much miſtaken: For they will urge you with " an importunity grievous beyond all meaſure, encouraged " both by the pride which, always, accompanies victory, " and by their folly, of which they have ſo great a ſhare. " And, if not, at firſt, they will, afterwards, upon every " occaſion, when their demands are not granted, take arms, " and fly in your faces with the ſame inſolence. So that, " if you yield to their firſt demands, as expedient, you will, " preſently, have ſomething worſe impoſed upon you; and " after that, ſomething elſe ſtill more intolerable than the " former, upon a ſuppoſition that your firſt conceſſions " flowed from fear; till, at laſt, they drive you out of the " city, as it has, already, happened in many others, and, " lately, at Syracuſe, where the [36] landed men were expelled " by their clients. If, then, your indignation at their demands " will induce you, at laſt, to reject them, why, do you not, " from this inſtant, begin to aſſume the ſpirit of free men?

36. Οι γεωμοροι. Sylburgius has taken notice that Herodotus calls theſe γαμοροι, according to the Doric dialect, which was ſpoken at Syracuſe. We know nothing of the manner, in which theſe landed men were driven out of that city by their ſlaves, as Herodotus calls them, or their clients, according to our author, becauſe the books, in which Diodorus Siculus, very probably, gave an account of this tranſaction, are loſt. But this we know from [b] Herodotus, that Gelon reſtored them to their country, and, by reſtoring them, made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe.

[b] In Polymnia, c. 155.

" For

" For it is better to act with courage upon a ſmall provo-
" cation, before any damage is received, than, after ſuffering
" many acts of injuſtice, to complain of what is paſt, refuſe
" the reſt, and begin late to grow wiſe. Let none of you
" be terrified either with the commotion of the revolters,
" or with a foreign war; nor diſtruſt our domeſtic forces,
" as inſufficient to preſerve the city: For the ſtrength of
" the fugitives is ſmall, and they cannot long continue in
" huts during the winter, with the ſame eaſe as they now
" incamp in the open air; and they will be ſo far from
" getting proviſions by plunder, when they have conſumed
" their preſent ſtock, that they will not be able even to
" purchaſe any from other places, and convey them to their
" camp, by reaſon of their poverty, as having no money,
" either public, or private: Whereas, wars are, generally,
" ſupported by plenty of money. Beſides, anarchy, as may
" well be imagined, and ſedition, flowing from anarchy,
" will ſeize them, and ſoon diſſipate, and diſconcert their
" counſels: For they will not ſubmit to deliver up them-
" ſelves either to the Sabines, or the Tyrrhenians, and
" become ſlaves to thoſe, whom they themſelves, in con-
" junction with you, formerly deprived of their liberty;
" and the men, who have, wickedly, and ſhamefully, en-
" deavoured to deſtroy their own country, will, leaſt of all,
" be truſted by them, leſt they treat the country, that re-
" ceives them, in the ſame manner: For all the nations
" round us are governed by ariſtocracies, and the people,
" in every city, are excluded from an equal ſhare in the
" govern-

" government. So that, the leading men in every city, " who do not ſuffer their own ſubjects to attempt any " alteration in the commonwealth, will never receive this " foreign, this ſeditious people into their country; leſt, by " admitting them to a ſhare in the privileges of their ſubjects, " they themſelves ſhould, one day, be deprived of their own " ſhare in the adminiſtration. But, if I am miſtaken, and " any city ſhould receive them, they will, preſently, diſ- " cover themſelves there to be enemies, and deſerve to be " treated as ſuch. We have here their wives, parents, and " the reſt of their relations, as hoſtages; and better we " could not deſire the gods to give us; all whom we will " place in the ſight of their relations; and, if they dare to " attack us, we will put them to death under the moſt " ſevere, and the moſt ignominious tortures. And, when " they know this, be aſſured they will intreat, lament, and " deliver up themſelves to you unarmed, and ready to ſub- " mit to every thing you deſire: For ſuch diſtreſſes have " an irreſiſtible power to break the moſt haughty ſpirits, " and annihilate their reſolution.

LXIII. " For theſe reaſons I affirm that a war from the " fugitives is not to be feared. As to the dangers of " foreign wars, this is not the firſt time thoſe dangers have " been formidable only in diſcourſe; but, even before this, " as often as we have experienced them, they have been " found leſs terrible than we apprehended. And, let thoſe, " who think our domeſtic forces not ſufficiently ſtrong, " and, for this reaſon chiefly, apprehend a war, know that " they

" they are not enough acquainted with them. We ſhall " have a body [37] of citizens equal in ſtrength to the revolters, " if we think fit to chuſe out the ſtouteſt of our ſlaves, and " give them their liberty: For, it is better to grant liberty " to theſe, than to be deprived of our authority by the others. " The former are, already, ſufficiently inſtructed in mi- " litary diſcipline, by having attended us in many expedi- " tions. And againſt our foreign enemies let us march " ourſelves, with all poſſible alacrity, at the head of all our " clients, and of the people, who are left: And, in order " to ingage theſe to fight chearfully, let us grant them an " abolition of their debts, not generally, but to every one in " particular: For, if we are, by yielding to the times, to " ſhew ſome moderation, let not that moderation exert itſelf " towards ſuch of the people, as are our enemies, but to- " wards ſuch of them, as are our friends; on whom we may " ſeem not compelled, but perſuaded, to beſtow favors. " And, if more ſuccours ſhould ſtill be wanting, theſe being " inſufficient, let us ſend for the garriſons of all the fortreſſes, " and recal our colonies. And how many the number of " theſe will amount to, may be, eaſily, learned from the laſt

37. Προς μεν γε τας αφεσηκοτας των πολιτων ανυπαλον χειρα ἐξομεν. The Latin tranſlators, and, after them, the French, have rendered this ſentence, as if they underſtood that των πολιτων was joined by our author to αφεσηκοτας: I own that the text will bear this conſtruction; but I think the ſenſe will be much ſtronger, if we connect των πολιτων with ανυπαλον χειρα ἐξομεν: For theſe ſlaves would, certainly, have been Roman citizens the moment they had been manumitted. Whereas, if we adhere to the connexion they have adopted, των πολιτων will be inactive, and ſignify no more than τας αφεσηκοτας without that addition; as Appius ſaid, before, in this very ſpeech, τις ΤΩΝ ΑΦΕΣΤΗΚΟΤΩΝ δια την εμην ωμοτητα, etc. and, afterwards ſays, μητε πρεσβειαν πεμπειν προς ΤΟΥΣ ΑΦΕΣΤΗΚΟΤΑΣ, etc.

" cenſus;

" cenſus; when there were regiſtered one hundred and thirty
" thouſand men grown; of theſe the fugitives do not make
" a ſeventh part. I aver, alſo, that the thirty cities of the
" Latin nation would deſire nothing more than to fight
" our battles, by reaſon of their relation to us, if you would
" only grant them the ſame privileges with our own citizens,
" which they have ever deſired.

LXIV. " But the advantage the moſt conſiderable in
" war is That, which neither you yourſelves have yet thought
" of, nor any of your adviſers ſuggeſted: This I ſhall add
" to what I have ſaid, and, then, make an end. There is
" nothing ſo neceſſary to ſucceſs in war, as good generals:
" With theſe our city abounds; while there is a ſcarcity of
" them among our enemies: For numerous armies, when
" commanded by unſkilful generals, diſgrace themſelves,
" and, very often, occaſion their own defeat; and the more
" numerous they are, the more they are expoſed to this
" misfortune: Whereas, good generals, although the
" armies they receive are ſmall, ſoon augment them to
" great numbers. So that, as long as we have generals
" able to command, we ſhall never want men deſirous to
" obey. Conſider, therefore, theſe things; reflect on the
" actions of this commonwealth, and determine nothing
" mean, ungenerous, or unworthy of yourſelves. What,
" then, if any one ſhould aſk me, do I adviſe? (For, in all
" probability, you, long ſince, earneſtly deſire to know this)
" Neither to ſend embaſſadors to the revolters, to decree an
" abolition of their debts, nor do any other act, that may

" betray fear, or perplexity: But, if they lay down their " arms, return to the city, and ſubmit their intereſts to be " diſcuſſed by you at leiſure, I adviſe you to treat them " with moderation, as you well know that all ſenſeleſs men, " particularly, the populace, behave themſelves with impe- " rioufneſs to the ſubmiſſive, and with ſubmiſſion to the " imperious."

LXV. When Claudius had done ſpeaking, there was a great clamor, and prodigious tumult in the ſenate, which laſted a conſiderable time: For thoſe, who ſeemed to be of the ariſtocratical party, and thought themſelves obliged to prefer the conſideration of juſtice to That of injuſtice, adhered to the opinion of Claudius; and deſired the conſuls particularly to join the better ſide, and to conſider that they were inveſted with a regal, not a popular, power; or, at leaſt, to keep themſelves neuter, and not to overbear either party, but to count the opinions of the ſenators, and declare for the majority: But, if they neglected both theſe, and aſſumed to themſelves the ſole power of concluding the accommodation, they ſaid they would not ſuffer it; but would oppoſe them to the utmoſt, with words, as far as they might, and, if neceſſary, with arms. Theſe were a conſiderable body, and almoſt all the young patricians adhered to this party: But all the lovers of peace eſpouſed the opinion of Menenius, and Valerius, particularly, the ancient ſenators, who conſidered the calamities, which all governments are expoſed to, by civil wars: But, being overborne by the clamor, and diſorderly behaviour, of the young men, and, ſuſpecting

ſuſpecting the conſequences of their ambition, and, alſo, fearing leſt the haughtineſs, with which they had treated the conſuls might end in violence, unleſs ſome kind of ſubmiſſion were made to them, they, at laſt, had recourſe to tears, and intreaties, with which they endeavoured to ſoften their oppoſers.

LXVI. The tumult being appeaſed, and every one ſilent at laſt, the conſuls conferred together, and pronounced their final determination, which was to this effect; "Fathers, "the thing in the world we deſire moſt, is, that you would "all be unanimous, particularly, when the public ſafety is "the ſubject of your debate; but, if that cannot be, that "the younger ſenators would yield to their ſeniors, and "not contend with them; but conſider that, when they "are arrived to the ſame age, the ſame deference will "be paid to them by their juniors: But we obſerve that "a ſpirit of contention, the moſt deſtructive of all diſ-"eaſes incident to mankind, has ſeized you; and that the "young men among you, behave themſelves with great "arrogance: And, ſince the remaining part of the day is "ſhort, and there is not time to perfect your reſolutions, "depart for the preſent; and bring with you to the next "aſſembly greater moderation, and a better diſpoſition: "But, if you ſhould preſerve the ſame contentious humor, "we ſhall not, for the future, make uſe of young men, "either as judges, or counſellors; but, from henceforward, "we will reſtrain their diſorderly behaviour by a law,

" [38] which ſhall fix the age required in a ſenator. As to the " ſenior members, we ſhall, again, give them an opportunity " of delivering their opinions; and, if they do not agree, " we ſhall put an end to their conteſts by a ſhort method, " which it is proper you ſhould be apprized of beforehand: " You are ſenſible that we have a law, as ancient as the city " we inhabit, by which the ſenate is inveſted with a ſovereign " power in every thing, except the election of magiſtrates, " the enacting of laws, and the declaring, or putting an end " to, wars; and that the people have the power of deter- " mining theſe three things by their votes: Now, the preſent " debate has no other object, but war, or peace: So that,

38. Ταξιλες αριθμον ειων ον δεησει τες βελευσας εχειν. It does not appear that this threat was carried into execution; at leaſt, not till many ages after, that is, in the year of Rome 575; when, by the Villian law, the ages of all magiſtrates was fixed. [c] *Q. Fulvius Flaccus conſul eſt creatus cum L. Manlio Acidino. — Eo anno rogatio primum eſt lata a L. Villio tribuno plebis, quot annos nati quemque magiſtratum peterent, caperentque.* This law, indirectly, fixed the age required in a Roman ſenator; becauſe the magiſtracy was the ſeminary of the ſenate, into which all magiſtrates had a right to be admitted, as ſenators, upon the firſt call of the ſenate after the expiration of their magiſtracy, unleſs the cenſors could object to their behaviour. Though Livy ſays this law was firſt enacted by Villius, yet he himſelf, in another place, gives us reaſon to think that ſome law of that nature was before in being; becauſe he tells us that the firſt Scipio, afterwards called Africanus, was oppoſed by the tribunes of the people, when he ſtood for the curule edileſhip, for this reaſon, that he had not the age, required by law, for that magiſtracy; [d] *quod nondum ad petendum legitima aetas eſſet.* This happened in the conſulſhip of Q. Fulvius Flaccus for the third time, and of Ap. Claudius Pulcher, and in the year of Rome 542, that is, 33 years before the Villian law was enacted. Whenſoever the law, upon which the tribunes grounded their oppoſition to Scipio, was paſſed, certain it is that there was no ſuch law in the early times of the commonwealth. This we know from [e] Cicero, who ſays; *Majores noſtri, veteres illi, admodum antiqui,* Leges annales *non habebant.*

[c] Livy, B. xl. c. 44. [d] B. xxv. c. 2. [e] Philippic. v. c. 17.

" it

" it is, abſolutely, neceſſary that the people ſhould, by their " votes, give a ſanction to our reſolutions. We ſhall, there- " fore, ſummon them to be preſent in the forum, purſuant " to this law; and, after you have delivered your opinions, " we ſhall take their votes, as the only means to put an end " to your conteſts: And, whatever the majority of the " people ſhall determine, we ſhall eſteem That as valid. " Thoſe, who have continued faithful to the commonwealth, " and are to ſhare both our good, and bad fortune, well " deſerve this honor."

LXVII. Having ſaid this, they diſmiſſed the aſſembly. The following days, they ordered all the citizens, who were in the country, and in the fortreſſes, to be preſent; and, having given notice to the ſenate to aſſemble the ſame day, when they found the city was full of people, and that the reſolution of the patricians was ſubdued by the intreaties, tears, and lamentations both of the parents, and infant children, of the ſeceders, they went, on the appointed day, to the forum, which was crowded with a concourſe of all ſorts of people, who were there long before it was light: And, going into the temple of Vulcan, where it was cuſtomary for the people to hold their aſſemblies, they, firſt, commended them for the earneſtneſs, and alacrity they ſhewed by aſſiſting in ſo great numbers: Then adviſed them to wait quietly, till the previous decree of the ſenate was paſſed; and exhorted the relations of the ſeceders to comfort themſelves with the hopes of ſeeing thoſe, who were deareſt to them, in a ſhort time. After that, they went to the ſenate;

and,

and, not only, ſpoke themſelves with gentleneſs, and moderation, but, alſo, deſired the reſt to deliver mild, and humane opinions. They, firſt, called upon Menenius; who, riſing up, ſpoke in the ſame manner as before, exhorting the ſenate to an accommodation; and, delivering the ſame opinion, deſired that embaſſadors might, immediately, be ſent to the ſeceders, with diſcretionary powers to make ſuch an accommodation as they ſhould think proper.

LXVIII. After him, other conſular ſenators, being called upon according to their age, roſe up, and were all of the ſame opinion with Menenius, till it came to the turn of Appius to ſpeak, who, riſing up, ſaid; "I find, ſays he, "fathers, that it is the pleaſure both of the conſuls, and of "almoſt all the ſenate, to bring back the people upon their "own terms; I am the only perſon left of all thoſe, who "oppoſed the accommodation, and I remain expoſed to the "reſentment of the people, and can be, no longer, of any "uſe to you: However, I ſhall not, for theſe reaſons, depart "from my former opinion, nor, willingly, deſert my ſyſtem "of government: But, the more I am abandoned by thoſe, "who, before, eſpouſed the ſame ſentiments, the more I "ſhall, one day, be eſteemed by you; while I live, I ſhall be "praiſed by you; and, when dead, remembered by poſterity: "And you, O Capitoline Jupiter, you guardian gods of this "city, you heroes, and tutelary genius's of the Roman land, "grant that the return of the fugitives may be honourable, "and advantageous to all, and that I may be miſtaken in "my preſages of futurity: And, if any misfortune ſhould

"redound

" redound to the commonwealth from theſe counſels (for " this will ſoon be manifeſt) may you, ſpeedily, reform " them, and inſure the ſafety of the commonwealth! " And, to me, who neither, upon any other occaſion, ever " choſe to ſay thoſe things, that were moſt agreeable, inſtead " of thoſe, that were moſt profitable, nor, upon this, " betray the public to ſecure myſelf, may you be favourable. " and propitious! Theſe are the prayers I addreſs to the " gods: For words are of no further uſe: But my opinion " is the ſame it was, that is, to diſcharge the people, who " continue in the city, of their debts, and to make war " upon the revolters with the utmoſt vigor, as long as they " remain in arms."

LXIX. Having ſaid this, he ended. When the opinions of the ſenior ſenators were found to agree with That of Menenius, and it came to the turn of the juniors to ſpeak, the whole ſenate being in ſuſpence, Spurius Nautius roſe up, the heir of a moſt illuſtrious family (for Nautius, the author of his race, was one of the colony, that came over with Aeneas, and a prieſt of Minerva, the tutelary goddeſs of Troy; and, when he removed from thence, he brought with him the ſtatue of that goddeſs, which the family of the Nautii had the cuſtody of ſucceſſively) This perſon was eſteemed the moſt illuſtrious of all the young ſenators for his perſonal virtue; and it was expected that he would ſoon be honoured with the conſulſhip. He began by making the apology of all the young ſenators, and ſaid that neither a ſpirit of contention towards their ſeniors, nor pride had induced

induced them to differ from the latter in opinion at the laſt meeting of the ſenate; and, if they had committed an error, it was an error of judgement, incident to their youth: And he ended with ſaying that by changing their opinion they would convince them of this: They conſented, therefore, that their ſeniors, as men of better judgement, might decree whatever they thought moſt conducive to the good of the public, and declared they ſhould meet with no oppoſition from them; but, on the contrary, an intire ſubmiſſion to their determinations. And all the other young men making the ſame declaration, except a very ſmall number, who were related to Appius, the conſuls commended their orderly behaviour, and exhorted them to behave themſelves in the ſame manner upon all public occaſions; and, then, proceeded to the choice of the deputies, who were ten in number, being the moſt illuſtrious of the ſenior ſenators, all of whom had been conſuls, except one. The deputies were theſe; Agrippa Menenius Lanatus the ſon of Caius, Manius Valerius the ſon of Voluſus, Publius Servilius, Publius Poſtumius the ſon of Quintus, Tubertus Titus, Aebutius the ſon of Titus, Flavius Servius, Sulpicius Camerinus the ſon of Publius, Aulus Poſtumius the ſon of Publius, and Balbus Aulus. After this, the ſenate being diſmiſſed, the conſuls went to the aſſembly of the people; and, having ordered the decree of the ſenate to be read, preſented the deputies: And, every one deſiring to be informed of the inſtructions, which the ſenate had given them, the conſuls ſaid publicly, that they had ordered them to reconcile the people to the patricians, by any means they

they could, without fraud, or deceit, and to bring home the fugitives immediately.

LXX. The deputies, having received theſe inſtructions, went out of the city the ſame day. But the news of this deputation, and of every thing, that had paſſed in the city, arrived at the camp, before the deputies: And, preſently, all the plebeians came out, and met the deputies upon the road. There was in the camp a man, extremely, buſy and ſeditious, [39] quick in foreſeeing things at a great diſtance; and, being a man of many words, and talkative, not incapable of expreſſing his thoughts: His name was Lucius Junius, the name of the perſon, who had deſtroyed monarchy; and, deſiring to complete the ſimilitude of their names, he would, alſo, be called Brutus: The generality of the people laughed at the vanity of the man; and, when they had a mind to make themſelves merry with him, they gave him the additional name of Brutus. This perſon informed Sicinnius, who commanded in the camp, that it was not the intereſt of the people to ſubmit eaſily to the propoſals, that were to be offered, leſt, by demanding things of ſmall conſequence, their return might be the leſs honourable; but to oppoſe them for a long time, and to act a part in this nego-

39. Οξυς τη γνωμη προϊδειν τι των εσομενων εκ πολλης, etc. It may ſeem odd, but it is true, that ſome parts in this character of Lucius Junius bear a near reſemblance to the great qualities aſcribed by [f] Thucydides to Themiſtocles, who was των μελλοντων επιπλειστον τε γενησομενε αριστος εικαστης· και α μεν μελλα χειρας εχοι, και εξηυρησαθαι διος τε. I cannot very well underſtand how both the French tranſlators came to render ουτος ὁ ανηρ *cet avanturier*, *this adventurer*.

[f] B. i. c. 138.

tiation; and he promiſed to take upon himſelf the defence of the people; and, having ſuggeſted every thing elſe, that was to be done, and ſaid, he prevailed upon Sicinnius. After which, the latter, aſſembling the people, deſired the deputies to acquaint them with the cauſe of their coming.

LXXI. When Manius Valerius, who was the moſt ancient, and the moſt popular man of all the deputies, preſented himſelf; the people teſtifying their affection for him by the moſt endearing expreſſions, and appellations; and, after they were ſilent, he ſpoke as follows; "Nothing, now, "hinders you, citizens, from returning home, and being "reconciled to the ſenate: For they have voted you an "honourable, and advantageous return, and granted you an "amneſty for all that is paſſed: They have, alſo, ſent us, "as deputies, whom they knew to be the greateſt patrons "of the people, and, deſervedly, reſpected by you, with "diſcretionary powers, to conclude an accommodation; to "the end we may not judge of your ſentiments by ap-"pearances, or conjectures, but may learn from yourſelves "upon what terms you think fit to put an end to the ſedition; "that, if there is any moderation in your demands, and they "are not impoſſible in themſelves to be granted, or rendered "ſo by ſome inſuperable diſhonor annexed to them, we "may grant them, without expecting the opinion of the "ſenate, or expoſing the ſucceſs of our negotiation to the "danger of long delays, or to the envy of your adverſaries. "The ſenate having decreed theſe things, receive their "favors, citizens, with joy, and with all alacrity, and ear-

"neſtneſs;

" neſtneſs; ſetting a value upon ſo great a happineſs, and
" returning the greateſt thanks to the gods that the Roman
" commonwealth, which commands ſo many nations, and
" the ſenate, which has the diſpoſal of all her honors, with
" whom it is an eſtabliſhed cuſtom to yield to none of her
" adverſaries, willingly departs from her dignity in favor of
" you alone, and neither thinks fit to enter into ſuch an
" exact diſcuſſion of what belongs to each, as might be
" expected from ſuperiors, who treat with their inferiors,
" but they themſelves have firſt ſent deputies to propoſe an
" accommodation; neither have they received the imperious
" anſwers you gave to their former deputies, with anger;
" but have ſuffered this forbidding, and juvenile exertion of
" your pride, like good parents That of their thoughtleſs
" children; and judged proper to ſend another deputation,
" to depart from their right, and to ſubmit to every thing,
" citizens, that is reaſonable. Poſſeſſed of ſo great a felicity,
" delay not to acquaint us with what you deſire, and do not
" amuſe us: And, when you have put an end to the ſedi-
" tion, return, with joy, to your country, in which you
" have received your birth, and education, and for this
" you have made her no good return, in having left her,
" as far as in you lay, deſolate, and a paſture for cattle.
" If you let ſlip this opportunity, you will, often, wiſh for
" ſuch another."

LXXII. When Valerius had done ſpeaking, Sicinnius preſented himſelf to the aſſembly, and ſaid that thoſe, who deliberated properly, ought not to form a judgement of the

expediency of any meaſure from a ſingle repreſentation of it; but that arguments of a contrary nature ſhould, alſo, be ſuggeſted, particularly, when affairs of ſo great moment were under their conſideration. Then he declared that any perſon, who pleaſed, might anſwer theſe reaſons, without being at all aſhamed, or afraid: For the ſituation of their affairs, and their preſent diſtreſs did not allow them to be influenced either by fear, or baſhfulneſs. All being ſilent, and looking upon one another to find out the man, who would defend the common cauſe, [40] none appeared, though Sicinnius, often, repeated the ſame thing. At laſt, Lucius Junius, the ſame perſon, who deſired to be ſurnamed Brutus, preſented himſelf, as he had, before, promiſed; and, being received with the general acclamations of the people, he ſpoke in the following manner: "It ſeems, citizens, that the dread of the "patricians, is ſo far rooted in your minds, that it aſtoniſhes "you: And, caſt down by that, you dare not, publicly, "avow thoſe diſcourſes, which are the common topics of "your converſation. For every one of you, poſſibly, thinks "that the next man to him will plead the common cauſe,

[40] Ἐφαινέτο δ' οὐδείς. This puts me in mind of a juſt reflexion made by Livy upon the behaviour of the ſeceders, when they left the decemvirs, and incamped on the Aventine hill. As the firſt ſeceſſion ended in the creation of the tribunes of the people; ſo This ended in the ſubverſion of the decemvirate: The firſt eſtabliſhed liberty; and the laſt aboliſhed tyranny. It ſeems, the decemvirs pretended to be ignorant of the cauſe of their ſeceſſion, and ſent deputies to them to know what they meant by it: Upon which, Livy obſerves that the people were not at a loſs for an anſwer: They were at a loſs for a perſon to give that anſwer. But [5] Livy has expreſſed this better than I can; *Non defuit quid reſponderetur; deerat qui daret reſponſum.*

[5] B. iii. c. 50.

"and

" and had rather [41] That man ſhould undergo the danger,
" if any; while he himſelf, ſtanding ſecure, expects to enjoy,
" in ſafety, his ſhare of the benefit ariſing from the boldneſs
" of the other. But in this he is miſtaken: For, if we were
" all of this opinion, the backwardneſs of every individual
" would prove a general miſchief; and, while every man
" conſulted his own ſafety, he would deſtroy That of the
" public: But, if you did not know, before, that you are
" freed from that dread, and that you ſecured your liberty,
" at the ſame time you took up arms, learn it now at leaſt,
" and learn it from them: For they come not with pride,
" and ſeverity, to command, as before, or to threaten; but
" to beg, and invite you to return home, and now begin to
" converſe with you, as with free men, upon equal terms.
" Why then are you, any longer, afraid of them, and why
" are you ſilent? Why do you not aſſume the ſpirit of free
" men; and, having, at laſt, broken your chains, publiſh
" the injuries you have received from theſe? Unhappy men!
" What are you afraid of, when you follow me as your
" leader in ſpeaking freely? For I ſhall expoſe myſelf to
" the danger of diſplaying the juſtice of your cauſe before
" them with freedom, and ſhall hide nothing. And, ſince
" Valerius has ſaid that nothing hinders you from going
" home, the ſenate having given you leave to return, and
" having, beſides, granted you an amneſty, I ſhall give him
" this anſwer, which is true, and neceſſary to be inſiſted on.

41. Αὐτὸν μᾶλλον. This, I think, the ſenſe requires, inſtead of παῦλας μᾶλλον, which ſtands in all the editions, and manuſcripts.

LXXIII. " There are many other reaſons, Valerius, that " hinder us from laying down our arms, and putting our- " ſelves in your power; but theſe three are the moſt con- " ſiderable, and the moſt notorious: The firſt, becauſe you " come to accuſe us, as if we had offended, and think that, " when you give us leave to return, you confer a favor on " us: The next, that, when you invite us to an accommo- " dation, you do not, at all, explain yourſelves upon what " terms of juſtice, and humanity we are to enter into it: " And, laſtly, becauſe we can find no ſecurity in any thing " you promiſe us; ſince you have, always, deceived, and " impoſed upon us. I ſhall ſpeak to each of theſe points " ſeparately, beginning with That, which relates to juſtice: " For it is the duty of all, who ſpeak either in private, or in " public, to begin from thence. If, then, we injure you in " any thing, we deſire neither an impunity, nor an amneſty; " we do not deſire, even, to partake, any longer, of the " ſame city with you; but will live in whatever place Fate " ſhall lead us to, leaving it to Fortune, and to the gods to " to direct our courſe. But, if, injured by you, we have " been compelled to make trial of the condition we are, now, " reduced to, why do you not acknowledge that you your- " ſelves have wronged us, and ſtand in need of pardon, and " an amneſty? Whereas, you pretend to grant the pardon " you aſk, and magnify your acquitting us of the reſent- " ment you yourſelves deſire to be acquitted of: This is to " confound the nature of truth, and invert the claim of " juſtice. That you are not the injured, but the injurers; " and,

" and, that you have not made handſom returns for the " many great ſervices you have received from the people, " in reſpect both to your liberty, and your ſovereignty, learn " from what follows. I ſhall begin from thoſe tranſactions " you yourſelves are acquainted with ; and I beg of you, " by the gods, if I advance any thing untrue, that you will " not bear it, but, preſently, refute me.

LXXIV. " Our ancient government was monarchy, " under which conſtitution we lived, till the ſeventh gene- " ration : And, in all theſe reigns, the people never ſuffered " any hardſhip from their kings ; and leaſt of all from thoſe, " who reigned laſt : For I omit the many conſiderable ad- " vantages they enjoyed under them ; ſince, beſides the other " methods they uſed of courting, and flattering the people, " in order to gain their affections, and make them enemies to " you (which is the practice of all kings, who aim at extend- " ing their power to tyranny) after they had made themſelves " maſters of Sueſſa, a very opulent city, by a long ſiege, " and had it in their power to grant no part of the ſpoils to " any one, but to appropriate the whole to themſelves, and " ſurpaſs all other kings in riches, they did not think fit to " do ſo, but gave all the booty to the army : So that, be- " ſides the ſlaves, cattle, and the other ſpoils, which were " many, and of great value, every man had five minae of " ſilver for his ſhare : All which we neglected, when they " uſed their power like tyrants, by the exceſſes they com- " mitted not againſt us, but againſt you, and reſented their " behaviour ; and, revolting from our affection to our kings,

" we

" we joined you: And, entering into the conſpiracy you
" had formed againſt them, both thoſe of us, who were in
" the city, and thoſe in the camp, we expelled them, and
" inveſted you with their power: And, though it depended,
" often, on us to transfer that power, again, from you to
" the expelled kings, and we were invited to it by promiſes
" of great rewards, yet, not to violate our faith to you, we
" refuſed to do it, and underwent many great, and continual
" dangers, and wars for your ſake: And, at this time, which
" is the ſeventeenth year, we are worne out with fighting
" againſt all mankind for our common liberty. For the
" government being unſettled (as it, often, happens in ſudden
" revolutions) we ingaged the numerous forces of two very
" conſiderable cities of Tyrrhenia, Tarquinii, and Veii, that
" ſought to reſtore the kings, with an army, vaſtly, inferior
" in number; and, fighting with the greateſt alacrity, we,
" not only, overcame our enemies, but preſerved the power
" for the ſurviving conſul. Not long after, when Porſena,
" king of the Tyrrhenians, was, alſo, endeavouring to reſtore
" the exiles with the united forces of all Tyrrhenia command-
" ed by himſelf, and Thoſe, which the others had, long be-
" fore, raiſed, we, though unprovided with an army of equal
" ſtrength, and, for that reaſon, beſieged, and reduced to
" difficulties, and to the want of every thing, by ſupporting
" ourſelves under all theſe terrors, we forced him to depart in
" friendſhip. And, laſt of all, when the kings, for the third
" time, ſought to effect their reſtoration by the aſſiſtance of
" the Latin nation, and brought againſt us the forces of
" thirty

" thirty cities, we, ſeeing you humbly intreating, lamenting,
" calling upon every one of us, and putting us in mind of
" our friendſhip, our common education, and our common
" warfare, could not bear to abandon you: But, looking
" upon it as a moſt honourable, and glorious thing to fight
" your battles, we ruſhed into the midſt of terrors, and
" expoſed ourſelves to a greater danger, than we had, ever
" before, encountered; in which, after we had received
" many wounds, and loſt many of our relations, of our
" friends, and fellow-ſoldiers, we overcame the enemy,
" killed their generals, and deſtroyed the whole royal family.

LXXV. " Theſe are the actions we have performed to
" aſſiſt you in freeing yourſelves from the tyrants, in which
" our alacrity has exceeded our power, and in which we
" ingaged rather through virtue, than neceſſity. Now
" hear what we have done to obtain for you the reſpect, and
" command of others; and alſo to acquire for you a power
" greater than was, at firſt, expected; and, as I ſaid before,
" if, in any degree, I ſwerve from the truth, object to what
" I ſay. When you thought you had ſecured your liberty,
" you were not contented to ſtop there; but ingaging in
" bold, and new attempts, perhaps looking upon every man
" as your enemy, who deſired to preſerve his liberty, and
" declaring war almoſt againſt all the world, in all theſe
" perils, and in all theſe battles, fought to ſupport that
" ambition, you thought fit to laviſh our blood. I omit the
" number of cities that, ſometimes ſingly, ſometimes two
" jointly, made war upon you in defence of their liberty;

" the forces of ſome we overcame in pitched battles, and " others we took by ſtorm, and compelled them to become " ſubjects to you. Why ſhould we particularize the actions, " when the ſubject is ſo ample? But, who were they, who " aſſiſted you in ſubjecting all Tyrrhenia, which was divided " into twelve dynaſties, and exceeding powerful both at " land, and ſea? Whoſe ſuccours rendered the Sabines, a " nation of ſuch ſtrength, who had ever contended with " you for the ſuperiority, unable, any longer, to contend " with you for an equality? Who were they, who ſubdued " the thirty cities of the Latines, who, not only, were " elated with the ſuperiority of their forces, but derived " magnificent hopes from the ſuperior juſtice of their de- " mands, and compelled them to fly to you to deprecate " ſlavery, and the demolition of their cities?

LXXVI. " I omit the other dangers, in which we ingaged " with you, before we were diſunited, and while we our- " ſelves entertained the hopes of ſome advantages under the " government. But, when it appeared you had converted that " government into a tyranny, that you treated us like ſlaves, " and that we, no longer, continued in the ſame diſpoſition " towards you, then it was that almoſt all your ſubjects " revolted, the Volſci ſetting the example, which was fol- " lowed by the Aequi, the Hernici, the Sabines, and many " others; and an opportunity ſeemed to be offered, the like " to which had, never before, happened, if we had coun- " tenanced it, to effect one of theſe two things, either to " ſubvert your government, or to render it more moderate

" for

" for the future: Do you remember to what a deſpair of " your ſovereignty, and to what a degree of diſtreſs you " were then reduced, leſt we ſhould either not aſſiſt you " in the war, or, indulging our reſentment, join the enemy; " and to what intreaties, and promiſes you had recourſe? " What did we do then, mean citizens though we are, and " abuſed by you? We ſuffered ourſelves to be overcome by " the intreaties, and prevailed upon by the promiſes, which " Servilius, the beſt of men, then conſul, made to the people; " and retained no reſentment of your former ill-uſage; but, " conceiving good hopes of your future behaviour, we gave " ourſelves up to you; and, having ſubdued all your ene- " mies in a ſhort time, we preſented ourſelves to our country " with many priſoners, and a fine booty. What return did " you make to us for theſe ſervices? Did you make us a " return, that was juſt, and worthy of the dangers we had " expoſed ourſelves to? Far, far from it: You violated even " the promiſes, which you had ordered the conſul to make " to us in the name of the commonwealth: And this very " perſon, this beſt of men, whom you had made uſe of to " deceive us, you deprived of a triumph, though, of all " others, he moſt deſerved that honor; and fixed this diſ- " grace upon him for no other reaſon, than becauſe he " deſired you to do that juſtice you had promiſed, and was " known to reſent the impoſition.

LXXVII. " And, very lately (for I ſhall add one in- " ſtance more to that part of my diſcourſe, which relates to " juſtice, before I make an end) when the Aequi, the Sabines,

" and the Volſci, uniting their counſels, themſelves took arms
" againſt you, and invited others to do the ſame, were not
" you, who are ſo awful and imperious, obliged to fly to us,
" who are mean and deſpiſed, and to promiſe every thing in
" order to ingage us in your defence? And, that you might
" not ſeem to have an intention to deceive us again, as you
" had often done before, you made uſe of Manius Valerius,
" the greateſt patron of the people, as a cover for your
" deceit; in whom we confiding, and thinking ourſelves
" in no danger of being impoſed upon by a dictator, and,
" leaſt of all, by a man who loved us, we aſſiſted you in this
" war alſo; and, having fought not a few battles, nor thoſe
" either inconſiderable, or obſcure, we overcame your enemies:
" But, the war being ended in a moſt glorious manner, and
" ſooner than it was, generally, expected, you were ſo far from
" rejoicing, and thinking yourſelves, greatly, obliged to the
" people for the ſucceſs of it, that you deſired ſtill to keep
" us in arms againſt our will, and under our enſigns, that
" you might violate your promiſes, as you had, at firſt, deter-
" mined: However, this perſon not ſubmitting to the im-
" poſition, nor to the indignity of the action; but bringing
" the enſigns into the city, and diſbanding the forces, you
" made uſe of this as a pretence for not doing us juſtice; you
" abuſed him, and performed not a ſingle thing you had pro-
" miſed us; but, at one and the ſame time, you committed
" three crimes of the blackeſt dye; you debaſed the dignity
" of the ſenate; you deſtroyed the credit of this perſon; and
" deprived your benefactors of the recompence, that was due
" to

" to their labors. Since, therefore, patricians, we have theſe,
" and many other things of the like nature to alledge againſt
" you, we did not think fit to ſolicit you by ſupplications, and
" intreaties; nor, as if guilty of heinous crimes, to accept of
" our return upon the terms of an impunity, and an am-
" neſty: Neither do we think proper to enter into an exact
" diſcuſſion of theſe things at preſent, ſince we are met to treat
" of an agreement; but are willing to overlook, and forget them.

LXXVIII. " But why do you not explain the ſubject of
" your deputation, and ſay, plainly, what you are come to aſk?
" Upon what hopes do you deſire us to return to the city?
" And what kind of fortune would you have us take for our
" guide? What is the alacrity, or joy, that is to receive us?
" For we have not, hitherto, heard you propoſe any thing
" humane, or benevolent; no honors, no magiſtracies, no
" relief of our poverty, nor any thing elſe, no, not the leaſt.
" Though, in reality, you ought not to tell us what you
" deſign to do, but what you have done; to the end that,
" having beforehand taſted ſome effect of your benevolence,
" we might conclude that your future favors, alſo, would
" be of the ſame nature. I expect they will anſwer to this,
" that they are come with diſcretionary powers in all things:
" So that, whatever we can perſuade one another to agree
" to, That is to be valid. I ſuppoſe this to be ſo: Let the
" event juſtify it; I contradict it not: But, I deſire to know
" from them what is to follow upon this; and, after we
" have ſignified the conditions, upon which we think fit to
" return, and theſe conditions are agreed to, who will

" under-

" undertake for the performance of this agreement? What
" ſecurity ſhall we truſt to, if we lay down our arms, and
" put ourſelves again in the power of theſe men? Shall we
" truſt to the votes of the ſenate, that are to paſs upon this
" ſubject? For they are not yet paſſed: And what ſhall
" hinder theſe from being, again, repealed by other votes,
" when Appius, and thoſe of his faction ſhall think fit?
" Or ſhall we truſt to the dignity of the deputies, who
" ingage their own faith? But the ſenate have, already,
" made uſe of theſe men to deceive us. Or ſhall we truſt
" to an agreement, entered into under the ſanction of the
" gods, and aſſure to ourſelves the performance of it by oaths?
" For my own part, I am more afraid of relying on this,
" than on any other aſſurance mankind can give; becauſe
" I ſee it deſpiſed by the men in power; and, becauſe I
" have obſerved, upon many other occaſions, as well as this,
" that involuntary agreements, entered into by men deſirous
" to command, with thoſe, who deſire to be free, laſt no
" longer, than the power of that neceſſity, which formed
" thoſe agreements. What kind of friendſhip, therefore, and
" aſſurance is that, under which we ſhall be obliged to
" court one another againſt our will, while each of us are
" watching our own opportunities to ſurpriſe one another?
" This ſituation will be ſucceeded by ſuſpicions, and con-
" tinual accuſations of one another, by envy, and hatred,
" and evils of every kind; and by an eternal conteſt which
" of us ſhall firſt effect the deſtruction of his adverſary, leſt
" a delay may prove the means of his own.

LXXIX.

LXXIX. " And all know there is not a greater miſchief,
" than a civil war, in which the conquered are unfortunate,
" and the conquerors criminal; and in which the former
" are deſtroyed by, and the latter deſtroy, their deareſt
" friends. To ſuch misfortunes, and to ſuch abhorred cala-
" mities invite us not, patricians; neither let us yield to
" their invitations, citizens: But let us acquieſce under that
" fortune, which has ſeparated us. Let them have the whole
" city to themſelves, and enjoy it without us; and let them
" poſſeſs alone every other advantage, after they have driven
" the mean, and obſcure plebeians from their country.
" Let us depart to whatever place Fortune ſhall conduct us;
" and look upon That we leave, as a foreign country, not
" our own: For none of us leave there either his lands, his
" paternal habitation, common ſacrifices, or the dignity every
" man is intitled to in his own country; the deſire of which
" things might induce us to be fond of ſtaying there, even
" contrary to our reſolutions; we have not there even the
" liberty of our own perſons, which we have purchaſed
" with our arms, and with many labors: Since ſome of
" thoſe have been deſtroyed by the enemy, ſome conſumed
" by the ſcarcity of daily neceſſaries, and others we have
" been deprived of by theſe imperious creditors: For whom
" we, miſerable men, are, at laſt, obliged to till our own
" lands, digging, planting, plowing, tending flocks of ſheep,
" becoming fellow-ſervants to our own ſlaves taken by us in
" war; ſome of us being bound with chains, ſome with
" fetters, and others, like the moſt miſchievous of all wild
" beaſts,

" beaſts, with wooden, and iron collars: I ſay nothing of
" the blows, outrages, ſtripes, the continual labors, and every
" other cruelty, abuſe, and inſolence we have undergone.
" Freed by heaven from ſo many, and ſo great evils, let us,
" joyfully, fly from them with all the ſpeed, and power we
" are able; and, following Fortune, and that god, who
" preſerves us, as our guides, look upon our liberty as our
" country, and our courage as our riches. For every nation
" will receive us into their community, becauſe we ſhall be,
" in ſome reſpects, inoffenſive to thoſe, who will receive us,
" and, in others, uſeful.

LXXX. " Of this let many Greeks, and many Barbarians
" be examples to us, particularly the anceſtors both of theſe
" men, and our own: Some of whom, leaving Aſia with
" Aeneas, came into Europe, and built a city in the country
" of the Latines; and others, coming from Alba, under the
" conduct of Romulus, as chief of the colony, built, in theſe
" parts, the city we are, now, leaving. We have with us
" forces more numerous than they had, even three times
" their number, and a more juſt cauſe of removing: For
" thoſe, who left Troy, were driven out by their enemies;
" but we, by our friends; and there is more compaſſion
" due to ſuch, as are expelled by their own people, than to
" thoſe, who are expelled by foreigners. The colony under
" Romulus deſpiſed the country of their anceſtors, in hopes
" of acquiring a better; but we, who quit a life attached
" to no city, and to no habitation, ingage in a colony, that
" will be neither envied by the gods, troubleſome to men,

" nor

" nor grievous to any country. We have neither ſpilled the
" blood of our fellow-citizens who expel us, laid waſte the
" country we quit, with fire, and ſword, nor left any other
" monument of an everlaſting hatred, according to the
" cuſtom of all nations, who have been abuſed by a viola-
" tion of treaties, and reduced to unavoidable neceſſity:
" But, calling upon the gods, and genius's, who direct all
" human affairs with juſtice, as witneſſes to our complaints;
" and, leaving it to them to revenge our wrongs, we, only,
" deſire this favor, that you will reſtore our infant children,
" and parents, and ſuch of our wives, as are willing to ſhare
" our fortune: Theſe will ſuffice; and we deſire nothing
" elſe from our country: May you be happy, and lead the
" life you chuſe; ſince your ſentiments are ſo inconſiſtent
" with civil government, and ſo incommunicative to your
" inferiors."

LXXXI. Brutus thus ended his ſpeech: When all, who were preſent, looked upon every thing he had advanced in relation to juſtice to be well-grounded, as alſo what he alledged againſt the pride of the ſenate; particularly what he ſaid to ſhew the aſſurance, offered for the performance of the agreement, to be full of fraud, and deceit: But, when, laſtly, he deſcribed the abuſes which the people had ſuffered from their creditors, and put every man in mind of his own misfortunes, none were ſo obdurate, as not to ſhed tears, and to bewail their common calamities; and, not only, the people were affected in this manner, but the deputies of the ſenate alſo: For even theſe could not refrain from tears, when they

conſidered the misfortunes, that would flow from a ſeparation of the people: And they continued, a long time confounded, pouring forth tears, and at a loſs what to ſay. But, after this great lamentation ceaſed, and the aſſembly was ſilent, Titus Lartius preſented himſelf to anſwer theſe accuſations; a man, who ſeemed to excel the reſt of the citizens by his dignity as well as age, and had been twice conſul; and had, of all men, made the beſt uſe of the dictatorial power, and cauſed that invidious magiſtracy to be looked upon as ſacred, and reſpectable. He ſpoke firſt to the point of juſtice; and, ſometimes, cenſured the creditors for having acted with cruelty, and inhumanity; and, at others, glanced at the poor for deſiring things unjuſt, and aiming at being diſcharged of their debts by violence, rather than favor; and told them they were in the wrong to quarrel with the ſenate for refuſing to grant them what was reaſonable, rather than with thoſe, who were the cauſe of that refuſal: He, alſo, endeavoured to ſhew that there was a ſmall part of the people, whoſe offence was involuntary, and who were forced, by the exceſs of their poverty, to demand an abolition of their debts; but that the greateſt part of them were abandoned to libertiniſm, and inſolence, and to a life of pleaſure, and prepared to gratify their paſſions by robbing others; and he thought a difference ought to be made between the miſerable, and the wicked, and between thoſe, who deſerved favor, and thoſe, who deſerved hatred: And, ſaying ſome other things to the ſame purpoſe, that were true indeed, but not grateful to all who heard him,

he

he did not gain their approbation; but every thing he ſaid was received with a great murmur, ſome being diſcontented at his renewing the memory of their ſorrows; and others owning that he concealed no part of the truth. But theſe were, greatly, inferior to the former, and being drowned with numbers, the clamor of the diſcontented prevailed.

LXXXII. After Lartius had added a few things to what he had, before, ſaid, and touched upon their revolt, and the precipitancy of their reſolutions; Sicinnius, who was then at the head of the people, replied, and inflamed them ſtill more, ſaying that, " by what Lartius had advanced, they " might learn what honors, and favors were like to receive " them, when they returned to their country: For, if thoſe, " who are in the height of their apprehenſions, who im- " plore the aſſiſtance of the people, and are come hither for " that purpoſe, cannot, even now, prevail upon themſelves " to ſpeak to them with moderation, and humanity, what " ſentiments are you to expect they will entertain, when " every thing ſhall have ſucceeded according to their wiſhes; " and that thoſe, who are, now, abuſed by their words, " ſhall become ſubject to their actions? What pride, what " ſtripes, what tyrannical cruelty will they forbear? If you " are contented to be ſlaves all your lives, to be bound, " ſcourged, and deſtroyed by fire, ſword, famine, and every " other abuſe, defer it not; but throw down your arms, " and follow them with your hands tied behind you: But, " if you have any love for liberty, bear not this uſage. And, " as for you, deputies, either explain the terms, upon which

" you deſire to recal us; or, if you do not explain them, " withdraw from the aſſembly: For, after this, we ſhall not " allow you to ſpeak."

LXXXIII. When he had ſaid this, all preſent teſtified, by their acclamations, that they approved of his reaſons. After they were ſilent, Menenius Agrippa, the ſame perſon, who had pleaded the cauſe of the people in the ſenate; and, having moved that deputies might be ſent with diſcretionary powers, had been the chief cauſe of that deputation, ſignified that he, alſo, had a deſire to ſpeak. The people looked upon this, as the thing they had wiſhed; and, now at leaſt, expected to hear propoſals tending to a ſincere accommodation, and to the ſecurity of both parties: And firſt they encouraged him with a great ſhout, and called out to him to ſpeak: After that, they were quiet, and ſo great a ſilence prevailed in the aſſembly, that the place reſembled a ſolitude. He ſeemed, in all reſpects, to ſpeak in the moſt perſuaſive manner, and the beſt ſuited to the inclinations of his audience: And, at the end of his ſpeech, it is ſaid he made uſe of a kind of fable, like Thoſe of Aeſop, which bore a near reſemblance to the preſent occaſion; and, by this means chiefly, prevailed with them: For which reaſon, it has been thought worthy to be recorded, and is celebrated in all the ancient hiſtories. The diſcourſe made by this perſon, as chief of the deputies, was to this purpoſe: " We were ſent to you by the ſenate, citizens, " neither to excuſe them, nor to accuſe you: For theſe " things were not thought ſeaſonable, or expedient in the " preſent

" preſent diſtreſſed condition of the commonwealth; but,
" to put an end to the ſedition with all poſſible zeal, and
" by all methods; and to reſtore the government to its
" former ſtate: And, for that purpoſe, we are inveſted with
" full powers. So that, we do not think ourſelves, at all,
" obliged, like Junius, to ſpend a long time in debating the
" point of right: But we ſhall acquaint you with the hu-
" mane conditions, upon which we think fit to put an end
" to the ſedition; what aſſurance we ſhall give you for the
" performance of our convention; and the reſolutions we
" are come to concerning both. When we conſidered that
" every ſedition is then cured in all cities, when the cauſes,
" that produced the diſagreement, are removed, we thought
" it neceſſary both to diſcover, and put an end to, the primary
" cauſes of this diſſention: And, having found that the
" ſprings, from whence the preſent evils flowed, have been
" the ſevere exactions of debts, thus we reform thoſe ex-
" actions; we think it juſt that all thoſe, who have con-
" tracted debts, and are unable to pay them, be diſcharged
" of thoſe debts: And, if the perſons of any, who have
" ſuffered the day appointed for the payment of their debts,
" to elapſe, are already, confined by legal proceedings
" thereupon, we determine that thoſe, alſo, be free. And,
" as to ſuch, as have had judgement paſſed againſt them,
" and have, already, been delivered over to the perſons, who
" ſued them to judgement, we order that theſe, alſo, be
" enlarged, and we reverſe thoſe judgements. Concerning
" your paſt debts, therefore, on account of which you thought
" fit

" fit to ſecede, we redreſs them in this manner. And, as to " future debts, whatever ſhall be approved of both by you; " who are the people, and by the ſenate, after a law has " paſſed for that purpoſe, let it be ſo ordered. Are not theſe " the things, citizens, that divided you from the patricians? " And, if you could have obtained them, would you not " have been contented, and aimed at nothing elſe? They " are now granted to you. Return then to your country " with joy.

LXXXIV. " The aſſurances, which ſhall confirm this " convention, and ſecure to you the performance of it, ſhall " be ſuch, as are founded both on law, and on the practice " of all men, who put an end to their enmities: For the " ſenate will confirm theſe things by a vote, and give the " force of a law to the conditions, that ſhall be drawn up. " But rather let the conditions agreed upon, be drawn up " here, by us, and the ſenate will ratify them. That the " conceſſions, now, made to you, may remain firm; and that " nothing contrary to them may, for the future, be enacted " by the ſenate, firſt, we, the deputies, are your ſureties, " and give you our perſons, our lives, and our families, as " pledges. And, in the next place, the ſenators, [42] whoſe

[42] Βυλεύλαι, ὅσοι τῳ ψηφισμαλι συνεγραφησονλαι. I am afraid the French tranſlators have miſtaken the ſenſe of theſe words. Le Jay has ſaid; *tout ce qu'il y a de ſénateurs, en ſignant l'arreſt du ſénat*; and M. ***, *les autres ſénateurs qui ſigneront le ſénatus-conſulte.* I do not think it was the cuſtom for the ſenators to ſign the decrees of the ſenate. The ſenſe, therefore, of the Greek words I take to be this: It was uſual to inſert in the decrees of the ſenate, before the enacting part, the names of thoſe ſenators, who, to teſtify their approbation of that decree, aſſiſted at the drawing it up; which was ſignified by theſe words, *ſcrib. affuerunt*; that is, *ſcribendo affuerunt:* After

" names

" names will be inſerted in the decree of the ſenate, ſhall " enter into the ſame ingagement: For nothing can be " mentioned in it contrary to the intereſt of the people, " while we oppoſe it; ſince we are the leading members of " the ſenate, and, always, deliver our opinions firſt. The " laſt aſſurance we ſhall give you is That in uſe among all " men, both Greeks, and Barbarians, which no time ſhall " ever aboliſh, and which, by the interpoſition of oaths, " and libations, makes the gods ſureties for the performance " of agreements; under this aſſurance, many great enmities " between private men, and many wars, ariſen between na- " tions, have been compoſed. Receive, then, this aſſurance " alſo, and conſider whether you will allow a few of the " principal members of the ſenate to give you their oaths in " the name of their whole body, or inſiſt upon it that all the " ſenators, whoſe names will be inſerted in the decree, ſhall " ſwear, by every thing that is ſacred, that they will, in- " violably, obſerve the agreement. Traduce not, Brutus, " aſſurances, given under the ſanction of the gods, and con- " firmed by pledging hands, and by libations; nor deſtroy " the moſt illuſtrious of all human inſtitutions: Neither do " you, citizens, ſuffer him to mention the impious violations " of oaths, committed by wicked, and tyrannical men; " actions far diſtant from the Roman virtue.

which words, the names of theſe ſenators were inſerted. The famous decree of the ſenate, relating to the conſular provinces, which tended to recal Caeſar from Gaul, and of which Coelius ſends a copy to [h] Cicero, will explain what I have ſaid. It there appears that thirteen ſenators attended at the drawing up of that decree.

[h] Cicero's Epiſtles, B. viii. Epiſt. 8.

LXXXV. " I ſhall mention one aſſurance more, which " no man is ignorant, or doubts, of, and then have done. " What is That? It is the aſſurance, that introduces the " common advantage, and preſerves both parts of the con- " ſtitution by their mutual aſſiſtance. This was the firſt, " and only motive, that brought us together, and will never " ſuffer us to be aſunder: For the ignorant multitude will, " always, want, and never ceaſe to want, prudent leaders; " and the ſenate, who are capable of governing, will never " ceaſe to want a multitude willing to obey. This we know " by experience, and not by ſpeculation, and conjecture alone. " Why, therefore, do we terrify, and diſquiet one another? " Why do we treat one another with ill language, when it " is in our power to do good offices to one another? Why " do we not rather open our arms, embrace one another, " and return to our country, to taſte the pleaſures we, " formerly, enjoyed, and gratify deſires, of all others, the " moſt agreeable? Inſtead of that, we are ſeeking frail ſe- " curities, and faithleſs aſſurances; like thoſe who are the " greateſt enemies, and ſuſpect the worſt of every thing. " As for us ſenators, we want no other aſſurance, citizens, " that you will never, if you return, behave yourſelves ill to " us, than the knowledge we have of your good education, " of your adherence to the laws of your country, and of " every other virtue, of which you have given many proofs " both in peace, and war. But, if there ſhould be a neceſ- " ſity of a further aſſurance from an expectation of a benefit " by reforming the joint agreement, now entered into, we

" are

" are ſo far convinced of your good diſpoſition in every " thing that we ſhall require, from the people, neither " oaths, nor hoſtages, nor any other aſſurance. How- " ever, we ſhall oppoſe nothing you deſire. And ſo much " concerning our fidelity, upon which ſubject Brutus en- " deavoured to impeach us. But, if any groundleſs envy " poſſeſſes you with an ill opinion of the ſenate, I deſire to " ſpeak to that point alſo, citizens; and I beg of you, in " the name of the gods, that you will hear me with ſilence, " and attention.

LXXXVI. " A commonwealth reſembles, in ſome mea- " ſure, a human body: For each of them is compoſed of " many parts; and each of theſe neither has the ſame " powers, nor is applicable to the ſame uſes: And, if theſe " parts of the human body ſhould each of them be indued " with a particular ſenſe, and voice, and then a ſedition " ſhould ariſe, and all of them unite againſt the belly; and " the feet ſhould ſay that the whole body reſts on them; " the hands, that they exerciſe arts, get proviſions, fight " with the enemy, and ſupply the community with many " other advantages; the ſhoulders, that they bear all " burdens; the mouth, that it ſpeaks; the head, that it ſees, " and hears, and comprehends, in itſelf, all the other ſenſes, " by which the body is preſerved; and then ſhould ſay to " the belly; and you, good creature, which of theſe things " do you do? What return do you make, and what advan- " tage are you, to us? You are ſo far from doing any thing, " and from aſſiſting us in effecting any good for the com-

" munity, that you are a hindrance, and a trouble to us,
" in impoſing on us an intolerable drudgery, and in com-
" pelling us to bring to you, from all parts, ſupplies for your
" luxury. Come, let us aſſert our liberty, and free ourſelves
" from the many troubles we undergo for the ſake of this
" indolent creature. If they ſhould reſolve upon this, and none
" of the parts, any longer, perform their offices, is it poſſible
" that the body ſhould ſubſiſt for any conſiderable time, and
" not, in a few days, be conſumed by the worſt of all deaths,
" famine? None can ſay otherwiſe. Now, conſider the
" commonwealth in the ſame light: For this, alſo, is com-
" poſed of many ranks of people, not at all, reſembling one
" another: Every one of which affords ſome particular uſe to
" the commonwealth, like the members to the human body:
" For ſome cultivate the lands; ſome fight againſt the enemy
" in defence of thoſe lands; others carry on a beneficial
" trade by ſea; and others exerciſe neceſſary arts. If, then,
" all theſe different ranks of people ſhould riſe againſt the
" ſenate, which is compoſed of the beſt men, and ſay, What
" good, ſenate, do you do us? And, for what reaſon, do you
" pretend to govern others? For you can alledge none. And
" ſhall we not, at laſt, free ourſelves from your tyranny, and
" live without a governor? If, then, they ſhould take this
" reſolution, and quit their uſual employments, what could
" hinder this miſerable city from periſhing miſerably by
" famine, war, and every other evil? Be aſſured, therefore,
" citizens, that, as in our bodies, the belly, thus reviled by
" the members, while it is nouriſhed, nouriſhes the body,
" and,

" and, while it is preſerved, preſerves it; and, like a common " ſtorehouſe, diſtributes that, which is beneficial to them " all, and maintains their harmony: So, in commonwealths, " the ſenate, which adminiſters the affairs of the public, " and conſiders what is expedient for every one, preſerves, " guards, and reforms all things: Ceaſe, therefore, to throw " out invidious expreſſions againſt her, and to complain " that you are driven out of your country by her; and that, " by her means, you wander about, like vagabonds, and " beggars: For ſhe neither has done you any harm, nor " deſigns to do you any; but ſhe calls you, ſhe intreats you; " and, [43] opening her arms, together with her gates, is de- " ſirous to receive you."

LXXXVII. While Menenius was ſpeaking, many and various were the expreſſions of the audience throughout his whole ſpeech. But, when, at the cloſe of it, he had recourſe to lamentations; and, enumerating the calamities, that would befal thoſe, who remained in the city, and thoſe who were driven out of it, bewailed the misfortunes of both, tears flowed from all, and they cried out to him, with one voice, to lead them back to the city, without loſs of time: And they were very near quitting the aſſembly that moment, and leaving all their concerns to the deputies, without ſettling any thing relating to their ſecurity, if Brutus had not ſtood

43. Τας χειρας ὑμιν ἁμα ταις πυλαις ἀναπεπλασασα. Aſking our author's pardon, this prettineſs, which might do well enough in a comedy of Ariſtophanes, is, in my opinion, below the dignity of hiſtory; and very unſeaſonable at the winding up of a ſpeech made upon ſo intereſting an occaſion. However, this, I believe, is the only time he has indulged his imagination at the expence of his judgement.

up, and reſtrained their eagerneſs, ſaying, that the promiſes, made by the ſenate, were, indeed, advantageous to the people; and he deſired that great thanks might be returned to them for thoſe conceſſions: But he ſaid that he was afraid of what might happen in future times; and that tyrannical men might, one day, (if an occaſion offered) attempt to make the people feel their reſentment for what they had done: And that the only ſecurity to thoſe, who were afraid of their ſuperiors, was, for the former to be convinced, that, if the others had the will to injure them, they ſhould not have the power: For, as long as ill men had the power, they would never want the will. If, therefore, they could obtain this ſecurity, they ſhould want nothing more. And Menenius having replied, and deſired him to name the ſecurity he thought the people yet ſtood in need of; the other ſaid; Give us leave to chuſe, out of our own body, every year, a certain number of magiſtrates, who ſhall be inveſted with no other power, than to relieve thoſe plebeians, to whom any injury, or violence is offered; and to ſuffer none of them to be deprived of their rights. This favor we intreat, and beg you to add to Thoſe you have, already, granted us, if our accommodation is not deſigned to end in words only, without effect.

LXXXVIII. When the people heard this, they gave great, and long acclamations to Brutus, and deſired the deputies to grant this alſo. Theſe, having withdrawn from the aſſembly, and conferred together, returned not long after. And, all being ſilent, Menenius preſented himſelf, and ſaid; "This

" This is a matter of great moment, and full of ſtrange " ſuſpicions: And we are diſquieted with fear, and anxiety, " leſt we ſhould, by this, form two commonwealths in one " city. However, as for ourſelves, we do not oppoſe your " deſire even in this: But grant this to us, which is, alſo, for " your own intereſt; Allow ſome of the deputies to go to the " city, and inform the ſenate of theſe things: For, though " we have a power from them to conclude an accommoda- " tion in ſuch a manner as we think fit, and can, at our " own diſcretion, make ſuch promiſes in their name, as we " pleaſe, yet we do not think proper to take this upon our- " ſelves: But, ſince a new matter has been, unexpectedly, " propoſed to us, we deſign to abrogate our own power, " and refer it to the ſenate: However, we are perſuaded the " ſenate will be of the ſame opinion with us in this reſpect. " I, therefore, ſhall ſtay here, and, with me, ſome of the " deputies: And Valerius, with the reſt, ſhall go to the " ſenate." This was reſolved upon; and the perſons, appointed to inform the ſenate of what had happened, rode in all haſte to Rome. The conſuls having propoſed the affair to the ſenators, Valerius was of opinion to grant this favor, alſo, to the people. On the other ſide, Appius, who, from the beginning, had oppoſed the accommodation, did not fail to oppoſe this demand alſo; crying out, calling the gods to witneſs, and foretelling what ſeeds of future evils they were ſowing in the commonwealth. But he was not able to prevail with the majority of the ſenate, who, as I ſaid, had reſolved to put an end to the ſedition. They paſſed a decree,

by

by which they ratified all the promiſes, made by the deputies to the people; and granted the ſecurity they deſired. The deputies, having tranſacted theſe things, returned to the camp the next day; and made known the reſolutions of the ſenate. After which, Menenius adviſed the plebeians to ſend ſome perſons to receive the aſſurances, which the ſenate was to give: And, purſuant to this, Lucius Junius Brutus, of whom I before made mention, Marcus Decius, and Spurius Icilius were ſent: With theſe, one half of the deputies returned to the city; and Agrippa, with the reſt, remained in the camp, being deſired by the plebeians to draw up the law for the creation of their magiſtrates.

LXXXIX. The next day, Brutus, and thoſe, who had been ſent with him, having completed the agreement with the ſenate, by the intervention of the Ειρηνοδικαι, called by the Romans, *Feciales*, returned to the camp: And the people dividing themſelves into the Φρατριαι, conſiſting of the citizens then in the camp, or, however they may be termed, which the Romans call, *Curiae*, they choſe for their annual magiſtrates the following perſons, Lucius Junius Brutus, and Caius Sicinnius Bellutus, who, to that time, had been their leaders: And, to theſe, they added Caius, and Publius Licinnius, and Spurius Icilius Ruga.[44] Theſe five perſons were the firſt, who received

44. Οὗτοι δημαρχικην εξουσιαν πρωτοι παρελαβον οι πεντε ανδρες. [i] Livy does not ſeem to contradict our author concerning the number of the firſt tribunes ſo much as to doubt whether two, or five, were, at firſt, created. However, there is great reaſon to believe, with Dionyſius, that their number was, originally, five; becauſe [k] Livy himſelf ſays that, when ten tribunes were created thirty ſix years after, two were choſen out of each

[i] B. ii. c. 33. [k] B. iii. c. 30.

the

the tribunitian power, with which they were inveſted on the fourth day before the ides of December, as it is practiſed

claſs; the laſt being not conſidered; *triceſimo ſexto anno a primis tribunis plebis, decem creati ſunt; bini ex ſingulis claſſibus.* It is, therefore, probable that the ſame rule was obſerved in the creation of the firſt tribunes, and that one was then choſen out of every claſs. I obſerve, not without ſome indignation, that all modern writers, whoſe works have fallen into my hands, treat the tribunes of the people, as incendiaries, and diſturbers of the public peace; not conſidering that the eſtabliſhment of the tribuneſhip was, not only, the ſource, but the ſupport, of liberty; and that, if the Romans had not been a free people, they would have figured in the world as little as any of their neighbours, and would never have erected ſo immenſe a power, which liberty alone could raiſe, as the loſs of that liberty ſubverted it. When I ſay this, I do not mean to juſtify the extravagance of every hot brained tribune; but only to ſhew that the liberty of the Romans was owing to this inſtitution; and that the formed deſign of the ſenate, after the expulſion of the kings, and, particularly, after the death of the laſt, was to render the people as great ſlaves to ariſtocracy, as they had, before, been to monarchy; and not to free them from tyranny, but, only, to make them change their tyrants. This I ſhall ſhew, not from our author, whoſe hiſtory will ſupply the reader with numberleſs inſtances of what I have advanced; but from Livy, whoſe diligence in ſearching into the ancient hiſtory of his country I wiſh I could commend as much as his impartiality in ſtating the ſubjects of diſpute between the ſenate, and people, his juſt reflexions on thoſe diſputes, and his eloquence in expreſſing thoſe reflexions. [l] Livy, therefore, will tell us that the news of the death of the laſt Tarquin tranſported the ſenate with too luxurious a joy, the firſt effect of which was to injure the people, whom, till then, they had courted: *Eo nuncio erecti patres, erecta plebs; ſed patribus nimis luxurioſa ea fuit laetitia: Plebi, cui ad eam diem ſummâ ope inſervitum erat, injuriae a primoribus fieri coepere.* The people, in expelling their tyrant, deſigned to expel tyranny too; againſt the return of which, in another ſhape, they could find no ſecurity, after the ſenate had, ſo often, deceived them, but in the inſtitution of their own magiſtrates. Theſe [m] Cicero compares with the Lacedaemonian ephori, and thinks it was not without reaſon that the ephori were oppoſed to the kings at Sparta, and the tribunes to the conſuls at Rome. *Quare nec ephori Lacedaemone ſine cauſâ a Theopompo oppoſiti regibus; nec apud nos conſulibus tribuni.* This was the opinion that great man entertained of the inſtitution of the tribunes; which has been traduced with ſo much virulence by ſlaviſh writers, who, no doubt, underſtood government in general, and the Roman conſtitution in particular, much better than Cicero.

[l] B. ii. c. 21. [m] De Legibus, B. iii. c. 7.

even

even to this time. The election being over, the deputies of the ſenate looked upon every thing, contained in their inſtructions, to have been performed: But Brutus, calling the plebeians together, adviſed them to render this magiſtracy ſacred and inviolable; and to eſtabliſh the ſecurity of it both by a law, and an oath. This was approved of by all; and the following law was drawn up by him, and his collegues: "Let none compel a tribune of the people, like a private "perſon, to do any thing againſt his will: Let none whip "him, or order another to whip him: Let none kill him, "or order another to kill him: And, if any perſon ſhall "act contrary to any one of theſe injunctions, let him be ac-"curſed, and his goods conſecrated to Ceres: And, if any "one kills the perſon, who has committed theſe things, let "him not be guilty of murder." And to the end the people might not, even in future times, be at liberty to repeal this law, but that it might, for ever, remain unalterable, it was ordained that all the Romans ſhould ſwear, by every thing ſacred, that both they, and their poſterity would, ever after, moſt aſſuredly preſerve it. And this [45] prayer, and imprecation was added to the oath: That the heavenly, and infernal gods might be propitious to the obſervers of it, and

[45] Ἀρὰ. This is an unlucky word for us tranſlators. It ſignifies both a *prayer*, and a *curſe*; and, the following ſentence containing both, the word is no doubt exceeding proper in this place: But, what are Latin, French, and Engliſh tranſlators to do, whoſe language cannot ſupply them with a word of this double import? Portus has ſaid *Precatio*, and his follower, le Jay, *Prieres*; Sylburgius, *Imprecatio*, and M. * * *, *Imprecation*. I have uſed both; becauſe it is as abſurd to apply an imprecation to a prayer, as it is to apply a prayer to an imprecation.

chaſtiſe

chaſtiſe the tranſgreſſors of it, as perſons guilty of the moſt execrable impiety. This gave birth to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed among the Romans of looking upon the perſons of the tribunes of the people to be all-ſacred: Which cuſtom continues to this day.

XC. After they had voted theſe things, they erected an altar upon the ſummit of the hill, where they had incamped, which they named, in their own language, the altar of *Jupiter Terribilis*, from the terror with which, at that time, they were poſſeſſed: To whom they performed ſacrifices; and, having conſecrated the place, which had received them, they went down to the city with the deputies. After this, they, alſo, returned thanks to the gods worſhipped in the city; and prevailed upon the patricians to paſs a vote for the confirmation of their new magiſtracy: And, having obtained this alſo, they deſired further that the ſenate would allow them to create, every year, two perſons out of their own body, to act as miniſters to the tribunes in every thing they ſhould ſtand in need of; to determine ſuch cauſes, as the others ſhould refer to them; and to take care of the conſecrated, and public places; and that the market be ſupplied with plenty of proviſions. Having obtained this conceſſion, alſo, from the ſenate, they choſe thoſe perſons, whom they called the miniſters, and the collegues of the tribunes, and judges: However, they are, now, called, in their language, from one of their functions, *Aediles*, that is, [46] *Superintendants of the holy edifices*;

[46] Ἱερων τοπων επιμελητ αι. Theſe were the plebeian aediles. They were different from the curule aediles, who were not inſtituted till the year of

and ſtill retain a power ſubordinate to other magiſtrates, which they were, before, poſſeſſed of: Many affairs of great moment are intruſted to them; and, in moſt things, they reſemble thoſe magiſtrates, among the Greeks, called Ἀγορανόμοι, *Superintendants of the markets.*

XCI. When affairs were ſettled, and the commonwealth was reſtored to its former ſtate, an army was raiſed, by the generals, to be employed in foreign wars: In this the people ingaged with great chearfulneſs; and, in a ſhort time, got every thing ready, that was neceſſary for the war. The conſuls, having drawn lots for their adminiſtration, according to cuſtom, Spurius Caſſius, to whom the government of the city was allotted, kept with him as many of the forces, which had been raiſed, as were neceſſary, and gave the reſt to his collegue. With theſe Poſtumus Cominius took the field, having with him a conſiderable number both of the Romans themſelves, and of the Latin auxiliaries. And, deſigning to fall upon the Volſci firſt, he took by ſtorm a city belonging to them, called Longula, notwithſtanding the inhabitants ſhewed an appearance of bravery, and ſent ſome forces into the field, in hopes of forcing the enemy to retire: But theſe being put to a ſhameful flight, before they had performed any remarkable action, the others did not behave themſelves with the leaſt courage in the

Rome 388; which year was remarkable for three things; the firſt plebeian conſul, the inſtitution of the praetorſhip, and That of the curule aediles;

[n] *annus hic erit inſignis novi hominis conſulatu, inſignis novis duobus magiſtratibus, praeturâ et curuli aedilitate.*

[n] Livy, B. vii. c. 1.

aſſault:

aſſault: So that, the Romans, in one day, and without trouble, poſſeſſed themſelves of their country; and alſo, took their city by ſtorm, without much difficulty. The Roman general granted all the booty to the ſoldiers; and, having left a garriſon there, he led his army againſt another city of the Volſci, called [47] Poluſca, not far diſtant from Longula; and, none daring to oppoſe him, he marched through the country with great eaſe, and aſſaulted the walls; when, ſome of the ſoldiers forcing open the gates, and others ſcaling the walls, they made themſelves maſters of this city alſo, the ſame day they attacked it. After the conſul had taken the city, he cauſed a few of the inhabitants, who had been the authors of the revolt, to be put to death; and, having puniſhed the reſt by taking away their effects, and diſarmed them, he obliged them to be ſubject to the Romans for the future.

XCII. He left, in this city alſo, a ſmall part of the army, as a garriſon; and, the next day, marched with the reſt to [47] Corioli, a city of very great note; and looked upon as the metropolis of the Volſci. In which city, there was a ſtrong garriſon; the walls were not eaſy to be ſcaled; and every thing neceſſary for a ſiege had been, long before, prepared by the inhabitants. The conſul ordered an attack to be made upon the walls;

47. Πολυσκα, το διασημα, etc. [o] Cluver has ſhewn that we muſt read theſe words in this manner, inſtead of πολις, καλα διασημα, as it ſtands in all the editions, and manuſcripts. This is confirmed by [p] Livy, who, in ſpeaking of the towns taken by Cominius this campaign, ſays; *inde Poluſcam, haud Volſcorum, cepit.*

48. Επι Κορικλαν. In Latin, *Coriolos.* See the fifty fourth annotation on the fourth book.

[o] Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 8. [p] B. ii. c. 33.

and, having continued the attack till late in the evening, he was repulſed with great loſs. The next day, he got ready the [49] battering rams with their coverings, and ſcaling ladders, and was preparing to give a general aſſault to the city; but, receiving intelligence that the Antiates deſigned to come with numerous forces to the aſſiſtance of the Coriolani, by reaſon of their affinity to them; and that they were, already, upon their march, he divided his army, and reſolved, with one half of it, to aſſault the city, leaving the command of it to Titus Lartius; and, with the other, to ſtop the march of the auxiliaries. By this means, there were two actions the ſame day; and the Romans gained the victory in both; all of them having fought with great ardor: And one of them, in particular, ſhewed an incredible bravery, and performed actions, that exceed all relation: This perſon was a patrician, and of no obſcure parents; his name Caius Marcius: He was a man of ſobriety in his private life, and of a free ſpirit. The circumſtances of both actions were theſe: Lartius, having marched out of the camp with his

49. Κριȣς τε και γεῤῥα. Harpocration ſays that γεῤῥον ſignifies any kind of cover, whether made of ſkins, or of any other matter; ἅπαν σκετασμα, εἴτε δερματινον ειη, εἴτε αλλης τινος ὑλης, γεῤῥον ελεγετο. This is a general explication of the word: But I take γεῤῥον to ſignify, in this place, what the Romans called, *Teſtudo*; ſuch a one as is deſcribed by [q] Vitruvius; which was a ſmall moveable houſe of carpenter's work, the roof of which was covered with the hides of oxen. Under this roof, the battering ram was ſuſpended, and played againſt the walls of a town. I doubt much whether *Mantelets*, in le Jay, or *Gabions*, in M. ***, are proper tranſlations of γεῤῥον; becauſe neither of theſe are covered; and, though both may be a good defence againſt ſhot, which flies in a horizontal line, yet they cannot defend the men from any thing, that comes from above.

[q] B. x. c. 19.

army

army by break of day, advanced to the walls of Corioli, and aſſaulted the city in many places: On the other ſide, the Coriolani, elated with the expectation of ſuccours from the Antiates, which they concluded would ſoon arrive, opened all their gates, and made a general ſally upon the enemy. The Romans ſuſtained their firſt attack, and wounded many of thoſe, who charged them: After which, the numbers of the aſſailants encreaſing, they were forced down a deſcent, and fled. Marcius, whom I before mentioned, ſeeing this, ſtood his ground with a few men, and ſuſtained the attack of the whole body of the enemy; and, having killed many of them, and the reſt giving way, and flying to the city, he purſued them, killing all he could overtake; and called out, without intermiſſion, to thoſe of his own men, who fled, to face about, to take courage, and follow him: Theſe, aſhamed of their action, rallied, and preſſed upon all before them, wounding, and purſuing them: In a ſhort time, every man put to flight thoſe he was ingaged with, and puſhed on to the walls of the city: And Marcius, expoſing himſelf, now, with greater boldneſs, advanced ſtill; and, coming to the gates, entered them together with thoſe, who were flying before him: And many others alſo, forcing their way into the city in various places, great numbers were ſlain on both ſides; ſome fighting in the ſtreets, and others in the houſes they were taking. The women, alſo, aſſiſted the inhabitants, by throwing down tiles upon the enemy from the roofs. And every one, according to his ſtrength, and power, bravely defended his country. However, they did

did not long reſiſt theſe terrors, but were obliged to ſurrender to the conquerors. The city being taken in this manner, moſt of the Romans employed themſelves in plundering, and continued for a long time intent on the booty; there being found in the city a large quantity of money, and a great number of ſlaves.

XCIII. But Marcius, who had firſt ſuſtained the ſhock of the enemy, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the Romans, both in the attack of the city, and in the ſeveral actions, which had happened within the walls, gave ſtill more illuſtrious proofs of his valor in the ſecond battle againſt the Antiates: For he reſolved to have a ſhare in this action alſo: And, as ſoon as the city was taken, he took with him a ſmall number of men, who were able to follow him; and, running in all haſte, found the two armies, already, drawn up, and going to ingage. He was the firſt man, who informed the Romans that the city was taken; and, as a proof of it, ſhewed them the ſmoke, which broke out, in great abundance, from the houſes, that were on fire; and, having obtained leave of the conſul, he drew up his men oppoſite to the ſtrongeſt body of the enemy. As ſoon as the ſignal for the battle was given, he charged firſt; and, having killed many of thoſe he encountered, he forced his way into the middle of their army. The Antiates durſt, no longer, ingage him hand to hand; but, leaving their ranks, where he attacked, they ſurrounded him in a body; and, retreating as he advanced upon them, aſſailed him with miſſive weapons. Poſtumus, being informed

of

of this, and fearing leſt the man, thus left alone, might meet with ſome misfortune, ſent ſome of the braveſt youth to his relief: Theſe, doubling their files, charged the enemy; and the firſt line not ſuſtaining their charge, but flying before them, they preſſed forward, and found Marcius covered with wounds, and many lying round him, ſome dead, and others expiring. After which, they joined their forces; and, led on by Marcius, attacked thoſe of the enemy, who ſtill kept their ranks, killing all, who made any reſiſtance, and treating them like ſlaves. Many Romans gained great reputation by their behaviour in this action; but thoſe, who defended Marcius, greater than the reſt; and Marcius himſelf the greateſt of all; who was, without any doubt, the chief cauſe of the victory. When it grew dark, the Romans retired to their camp, greatly exulting in the advantage they had gained, having killed many of the Antiates, and carrying with them a great number of priſoners.

XCIV. The next day, Poſtumus, having aſſembled the army, gave great commendations to Marcius; and crowned him with the crowns, uſually, given to the perſon, who has ſhewn the greateſt bravery, as rewards for his behaviour in both the actions: He preſented him, alſo, with a war horſe, adorned with all the enſigns belonging to That of a general; together with ten captives, ſuch as he ſhould chuſe; and as much ſilver, as he himſelf ſhould be able to carry; and many other valuable things, as the firſt-fruits of the booty. This being followed by great acclamations of the army, in token of their applauſe, and congratulation, Marcius advanced, and ſaid, that

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he returned great thanks both to the conſul, and to all preſent, for the honors they did him: However, that he ſhould not accept them; but would be contented with the war horſe for the ſake of the illuſtrious enſigns; and with one captive, with whom he happened to have an intercourſe of hoſpitality. The ſoldiers, who had, before, admired the man for his valor, now admired him ſtill more for his contempt of riches, and for his moderation in ſuch proſperity. From this action, he was ſurnamed Coriolanus; and became the moſt illuſtrious man of his age. This having been the event of the battle with the Antiates, the reſt of the Volſcian nation, together with all thoſe, who had eſpouſed their reſentments, made peace with the Romans; and ſuch as were, already, in arms, or preparing for war, laid aſide the thoughts of it: All of whom Poſtumus treated with humanity; and, returning home, diſbanded the army. Caſſius, the other conſul, who had been left at Rome, in the mean time conſecrated the temple of Ceres, Bacchus, and Proſerpine, which ſtands at the end of the great circus, and is built over the ſtarting places; and which Aulus Poſtumius, the dictator, made a vow to dedicate to the gods, in the name of the commonwealth, when he was upon the point of ingaging the army of the Latines; and the ſenate, after the victory, having decreed that this temple ſhould be built, intirely, out of the ſpoils, the work was, then, finiſhed.

XCV. At the ſame time, the treaties of peace, and friendſhip were renewed with all the Latin cities upon oath: The reaſon

reaſon of which was, that they had not attempted to raiſe any commotions during the ſedition; and had, not only, made public rejoicings for the return of the people, but had, alſo, ſhewn great readineſs to aſſiſt the Romans in reducing thoſe nations, which had revolted from them. The articles of theſe treaties were as follows: "Let there be peace between "the Romans, and all the Latin cities, as long as the heavens, "and the earth ſhall remain in the ſame ſituation: Let "them neither make war upon one another themſelves, "bring in foreign enemies, nor grant a ſafe paſſage to thoſe, "who ſhall make war upon either: Let them aſſiſt one "another, when warred upon, with all their forces; and "let both have an equal ſhare of the ſpoils, and booty, taken "in their common wars: Let ſuits, relating to private con-"tracts, be determined in ten days among that people, "where the contract was made: And let nothing be added "to, or taken away from, theſe treaties, but by the joint "conſent both of the Romans, and of all the Latines." Theſe were the articles of the treaties entered into by the Romans, and the Latines, and confirmed by their oaths. The ſenate, alſo, decreed that ſacrifices ſhould be offered up to the gods, in thankſgiving for their reconciliation with the people, and added a third day to the [50] Latin feſtivals: The firſt of which was appointed by Tarquinius, when the Romans overcame the Tyrrhenians: The ſecond the people added, after they had freed the commonwealth by the expulſion of the kings: To which the third was, now,

50. Λατίναις ἑορταῖς. See the fifty eighth annotation on the fourth book.

added, on account of the return of the ſeceders. The ſuperintendance, and care of the ſacrifices, and games, performed during theſe feſtivals, was committed to the miniſters of the tribunes of the people, who are, now, as I ſaid, inveſted with the agoranomical, or aedilitian power; and they were honoured by the ſenate with a purple robe, an ivory chair, and the other enſigns, before, made uſe of by the kings.

XCVI. Not long after this feſtival, Menenius Agrippa, one of the conſular ſenators, died: This perſon had overcome the Sabines, and triumphed in a moſt glorious manner for that victory: By his perſuaſion, the ſenate allowed the ſeceders to return; and the people, through the confidence they placed in him, laid down their arms: He was buried at the expence of the public; and his funeral was, of all others, the moſt honourable, and the moſt ſplendid. The fortunes of this perſon were not ſufficient to defray the expence of a magnificent funeral, and interment: So that, the truſtees of his children reſolved, after conſultation, to carry him out of the city, and bury him like one of the vulgar, without any expence. This the people would not ſuffer; but the tribunes having aſſembled them, and, with great commendations, diſplayed both the military, and political virtues of the man, his temperance, and the ſimplicity of his life; and, above all things, celebrated, with the higheſt praiſes, his abſtinence from every method of amaſſing riches, they ſaid it would be the moſt diſhonourable thing imaginable, that ſuch a man ſhould be buried in an obſcure, and ignoble manner, by reaſon of his poverty: And they adviſed

adviſed the people to take the expence of his funeral upon themſelves, and every man to contribute towards it in ſuch a proportion as they ſhould order. The people received this propoſal with joy: And each citizen, preſently, bringing in the proportion he was taxed at, the contribution amounted to a large ſum. The ſenate, being informed of this, were aſhamed of the thing, and reſolved not to ſuffer the moſt illuſtrious perſon of all the Romans to be buried by a private contribution, but thought it, highly, reaſonable, that the expence ſhould be defrayed by the public, and committed the care of it to the quaeſtors. Theſe, having given a very large ſum of money for the exhibition of his funeral, decorated his body with the moſt ſumptuous ornaments; and, furniſhing every thing elſe, that could tend to magnificence, interred him in a manner worthy of his virtue. Upon which, the people, in emulation of the ſenate, refuſed even to receive the ſum they had contributed, which the quaeſtors offered to return, but preſented it to the children of the deceaſed in compaſſion to their poverty, and to prevent them from ingaging in any purſuits derogatory to their father's virtue. There was alſo, at this time, a cenſus performed by the conſuls: According to which, the number of the citizens was found to amount to above one hundred and ten thouſand. And theſe were the actions of the Romans under the conſuls of this year.

The end of the Sixth book.

THE

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

OF

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

TITUS Geganius Macerinus, and Publius Minucius having entered upon their conſulſhip, a great ſcarcity of corn was felt at Rome, occaſioned, originally, by the ſeceſſion: For the people ſeceded from the patricians about the autumnal equinox, at the beginning of ſeed time: And the huſbandmen left the country upon this commotion; and, dividing themſelves, thoſe, who were eaſieſt in their fortunes, joined the patricians; and their ſervants, the plebeians: From that time, they remained aſunder, till the commonwealth was compoſed, and reunited, the reconciliation not being effected long before the winter ſolſtice: And, during that interval, which is the proper ſeaſon for ſowing all ſorts of winter corn, the country was deſtitute of people to cultivate the land, and remained ſo for a conſiderable time: So that, even when the huſbandmen returned, it was not eaſy for them to repair this damage,

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particularly as they had been great ſufferers both by the deſertion of their ſlaves, and the loſs of their cattle, with which they were to cultivate their land; and that few of them had made any proviſion, for the next year, of corn either for ſeed, or for their ſupport. The ſenate, being informed of theſe things, ſent embaſſadors to the Tyrrhenians, and to the Campanians, and alſo to the Pometine plain, to buy up all the corn they could. [1] Publius Valerius, and

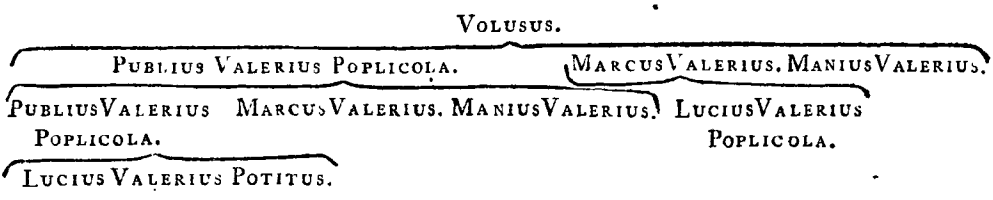
ANNOTATIONS on the Seventh BOOK.

[1] Ποπλιος Ουαλεριος. Glareanus, and, after him, M. * * *, cenſure two points, mentioned by our author, concerning the Valerian family. The firſt relates to Marcus Valerius, who, they ſay, was ſlain at the battle near the lake Regillus, and, afterwards, created dictator. And the other, that Dionyſius makes Publius, and Marcus Valerius, the ſons of Poplicola, to have been killed at the ſame battle; and, here, introduces Publius, as one of the two embaſſadors, who were ſent to Sicily. The firſt of theſe objections is, eaſily, anſwered, and would not have been made, if they had read, as they ought to have done, Manius Valerius, and not Marcus, for the name of the dictator. Concerning which, I ſhall not repeat what [a] I have, already, ſaid upon that occaſion. As to the ſecond, I do not think it, at all, probable that Poplicola ſhould have had two ſons, whoſe names were Publius, which is the expedient M. * * * has recourſe to: I rather think that the name, or rather praenomen of his ſon, who was ſlain near the lake Regillus, was not Publius, poſſibly Manius, like That of his uncle, who was, afterwards, dictator; which is the more probable, becauſe his brother Marcus, who was killed at the ſame time, had the ſame name with his uncle, in whoſe defence he loſt his life. As for the perſon, who was ſent to Sicily, his name was Publius: He was conſul in 279 with Caius Nautius, under the name of Publius Valerius Poplicola. However, as great miſtakes are imputed to our author by Glareanus, and, after him, by M. * * *, in relation to the Valerian family; and, as no family, ever, produced a ſucceſſion of greater, and better men, I ſhall beg leave of the reader, to lay before him a pedigree of it, as far, at leaſt, as theſe remaining books of our author will carry it; by which, I hope, his great exactneſs, rather than his inaccuracy, will appear. The reader will find this pedigree of the Valerian family to be, totally, different from That given of it by Sigonius in his notes upon the third book of Livy.

[a] See the twenty ſeventh annotation on the ſixth book.

Lucius

Lucius Geganius were ſent to Sicily: Of whom, Valerius was a ſon of Poplicola, and Geganius, brother to one of the conſuls. At that time, the cities of Sicily were governed by kings, the moſt illuſtrious of whom was [z] Gelo, the ſon of



We know nothing more of Voluſus, than that he was the father of Publius Valerius Poplicola, Marcus Valerius, and Manius Valerius. Of the firſt our author has ſaid a great deal: [b] He was four times conſul. [c] His brother Marcus was conſul with Publius Poſtumius Tubertus, in the year 249, the fifth year after the expulſion of the kings, and [d] loſt his life at the battle near the lake Regillus in 258. [e] His brother Manius was dictator in the year 260. Publius Valerius Poplicola, the eldeſt ſon of Publius Valerius Poplicola, was ſent [f] embaſſador to Sicily in 262, [g] was conſul in 279 with Caius Nautius; and, alſo, in [h] 294 with Caius Claudius Sabinus; and, during his conſulſhip, loſt his life at the attack of the capitol, then in the poſſeſſion of Appius Herdonius. [i] His two brothers, Marcus, and Manius, as I would read his name, loſt their lives in defending their uncle Marcus in 258. The ſon of this Publius Valerius Poplicola was [k] Lucius Valerius Potitus, who, with Marcus Horatius Barbatus, made ſo noble a ſtand againſt the tyranny of the decemvirs in 305, and, after their abolition, was, [l] with him, choſen conſul the ſame, or the following year. As for Marcus, the ſecond brother of the firſt Poplicola, I find he had a ſon, called Lucius Valerius Poplicola, who, [m] being quaeſtor in 269, accuſed Spurius Caſſius for aiming at tyranny, and was very inſtrumental in bringing him to puniſhment. He was [n] choſen conſul in 271 with Marcus Fabius; and, alſo, [o] in 284, with Tiberius Aemilius. I cannot find any thing relating to the deſcent of Marcus Valerius, who was [p] conſul with Spurius Virginius in 298.

[z] Γελων ὁ Δεινομενους νεωτι την Ιπποκρατους παιδων τυραννιδα παρειληφως. It is aſtoniſhing that both the French tranſlators ſhould have taken their notes upon this paſſage, word for word, from a Latin note of Caſaubon, without taking the leaſt notice of him. The latter has, juſtly, obſerved that Gelo was not the brother of Hippocrates, as our author makes him, if we read

[b] B. v. c. 40. [c] Ib. c. 37. [d] B. vi. c. 12. [e] Ib. c. 39. [f] B. vii. c. 1. [g] B. ix. c. 28. [h] B. x. c. 9. [i] B. vi. c. 12. [k] B. xi. c. 4. [l] B. xi. c. 45. [m] B. viii. c. 77. [n] B. viii. c. 87. [o] B. ix. c. 51. [p] B. x. c. 31.

Dino-

Dinomenes, who had, lately, ſucceeded in the kingdom to the ſons of Hippocrates, and not Dionyſius the Syracuſan,

τῦ ἀδελφῦ, as it ſtands in all the editions, and manuſcripts. For which reaſon I have ſubſtituted παιδων, the very word made uſe of by Herodotus, in the room of τῦ ἀδελφῦ: Since it is not poſſible to imagine our author did not know that Gelo was not the brother of Hippocrates; particularly, ſince his favourite author, Herodotus, has ſhewn who Gelo was, and, by what means, he, firſt, made himſelf king of Gela, and, afterwards, of Syracuſe. It is a misfortune that the whole five books between the fifth, and the eleventh, in which laſt Diodorus Siculus treats of the death of Gelo, are loſt; otherwiſe, we ſhould be much better informed than we are, now, of many things relating to Hippocrates, and Gelo. However, I ſhall lay before the reader a ſhort account of both, not from Caſaubon, but from Herodotus; and add to it the number of years Gelo reigned at Syracuſe; and the time, when he died, from Diodorus Siculus. Cleander, king of Gela, being ſlain by Sabyllus, after a reign of ſeven years, his brother Hippocrates ſucceeded him. In his reign, Gelo, a deſcendant of Telines, prieſt of the infernal gods, having given [q] many inſtances of his conduct, and bravery, was made general of the horſe; and Hippocrates being killed at the ſiege of Hybla, after a reign of ſeven years, and the inhabitants of Gela growing uneaſy under the government of Euclides, and Cleander (or Caſſander, according to the Medicean manuſcript) the ſons of Hippocrates, Gelo, under the pretence of ſupporting theſe, overcame the inhabitants of Gela in battle, and made himſelf king of that city. Some time after this, he poſſeſſed himſelf of Syracuſe alſo, by reſtoring the Gamori, as has been, already, [r] ſaid: So far Herodotus. [s] Diodorus Siculus ſays that Gelo died in the archonſhip of Timoſthenes, after he had reigned ſeven years at Syracuſe. Timoſthenes was archon at Athens in the third year of the ſeventy fifth Olympiad: So that, he muſt have begun his reign at Syracuſe in the firſt year of the ſeventy fourth Olympiad, when Leoſtratus was archon at Athens. From this, it appears that the two embaſſadors, who went to Sicily to buy corn in the ſecond year of the ſeventy ſecond Olympiad, were ſent thither ſix years before Gelo was king of Syracuſe. This affords le Jay, who has miſtaken Caſaubon; matter of great cenſure, as he thinks, againſt our author, who does not ſay that Gelo was king of Syracuſe, when the Roman embaſſadors went to Sicily; on the contrary, he ſays, plainly, that he had then, lately, ſucceeded to the kingdom of the ſons of Hippocrates: Now, theſe were not kings of Syracuſe, but of Gela: Conſequently, Gelo had then, lately, ſucceeded to the kingdom of Gela; νεωςι τὴν Ἱπποκράτες παιδων τυραννιδα παρειλήφως. Gelo ſucceeded to the kingdom of Hippocrates, not to Hippocrates.

[q] In Polym. c. 154 and 155. [r] See the thirty ſixth annot. on the ſixth book. [s] B. xi c. 38.

as Licinnius, and Gellius have written, and many other Roman hiſtorians, without examining the circumſtances of the time with accuracy, as the thing itſelf ſhews, but, raſhly, relating the firſt account, that offered itſelf: For the embaſſadors, appointed to go to Sicily, ſet ſail for that iſland in the ſecond year of the ſeventy ſecond Olympiad, Hybrilides being, that year, archon at Athens, ſeventeen years after the expulſion of the kings, as theſe, and almoſt all other hiſtorians agree: Whereas Dionyſius, the elder, having invaded the liberties of the Syracuſans the eighty fifth year after this, poſſeſſed himſelf of the tyranny in the third year of the ninety third Olympiad, Callias being, then, archon at Athens, after Antigenes. Thoſe, who write the hiſtories of early times, and ſuch as contain the tranſactions of many ages, may, indeed, be forgiven an error of a few years; but not a deviation from the truth of two, or three intire generations: However, it is probable that the firſt, who gave this fact a place in his account of thoſe times, whom all the reſt have followed, finding only this, in the ancient writings, that embaſſadors were ſent, under theſe conſuls, to Sicily to buy corn, and returned from thence with the preſent of corn,

If I ſhew this, I hope it will recommend the alteration I have made of τȣ αδελφȣ, into παιδων, to the approbation of the reader. [t] Herodotus ſays that the pretence of Gelo, when he took arms againſt the inhabitants of Gela, was to aſſiſt *the ſons* of Hippocrates; τοισι Ιπποκρατεος παισι, becauſe the former would, *no longer*, ſubmit to their domination, ȣ βȣλομενων των πολιητεων κατηκοων ETI ειναι τῳ εργῳ: They had, therefore, ſubmitted to it. This is the force of the word ετι; which is ſo very ſignificant, ſo often uſed by the beſt writers, and ſo often left out by their tranſlators, that I would deſire every gentleman, who reads thoſe writers, to pay a particular regard to it.

[t] In Polym. c. 155.

which

which the tyrant had given them, never informed themſelves further from the Greek hiſtorians, who was, at that time, tyrant of Sicily, but, without examination, and, as it happened, called him Dionyſius.

II. The embaſſadors, therefore, who imbarked for Sicily, having met with a ſtorm at ſea, and, being obliged to ſail round the iſland, were a long time before they arrived at the king's court; and, having ſtaid the winter there, returned to Italy in the ſpring, bringing with them a great quantity of proviſions. But thoſe, who had been ſent to the Pometine plain, were very near being put to death by the Volſci, as ſpies, the Roman exiles having accuſed them of being ſuch: And, having, with very great difficulty, been able to ſave their perſons, for which they were obliged to the activity of their own gueſts, they returned to Rome with the loſs of their money, and without having effected any thing. The ſame misfortune happened to thoſe, who went to [3] Cumae in Italy: For many Roman exiles, who had fled with Tarquinius out of the laſt battle, reſiding in that city, they, at firſt, endeavoured to prevail upon the tyrant to deliver up the embaſſadors to them, to the end they might put them to death: But, not ſucceeding in this, they deſired they might detain their perſons, as pledges, till they ſhould receive, from the city that ſent them, their fortunes, which, they ſaid, had been, unjuſtly, confiſcated by the Romans; and thought it reaſonable that the tyrant

3. Κυμην Ιταλιωτιν. Our author has added the laſt word to diſtinguiſh it from Κυμη in Aeolis in the leſſer Aſia. See the thirty firſt annotation on the fifth book.

ſhould be the judge in this cauſe. Ariſtodemus, the ſon of Ariſtocrates, was, at that time, tyrant of Cumae, a man of no obſcure birth, who was called, [4] Μαλακος, *Effeminate*, by the citizens, which appellation came to be more known in time than his own name; either becauſe, when a boy, he was effeminate, and ſuffered that treatment, which is appropriated to women, as ſome relate; or becauſe he was of a mild nature, and of a diſpoſition too ſoft to be incenſed, as others write: I look upon it not to be unſeaſonable to ſuſpend the relation of the Roman affairs for a ſhort time, in order to give an account of the opportunities, by which he was encouraged to aim at the tyranny, and of the meaſures he purſued to obtain it; of the manner in which he governed, and of the cataſtrophe he met with.

III. In the ſixty fourth Olympiad, when Miltiades was archon at Athens, the Tyrrhenians, who inhabited the country lying near the Ionian gulph, and were driven from

4. Ος εκαλειτο μαλακος ὑπο των αςων. Caſaubon has a note, alſo, upon this occaſion, which the French tranſlators have rendered in their language, like the other, without the leaſt acknowledgement. In this note, [u] Plutarch is quoted for ſaying that Ariſtodemus was not called μαλακος for any ignominious reaſon, but that he was called ſo by the Barbarians, in whoſe language, that word ſignifies *a youth*. I wiſh Plutarch had told us who theſe Barbarians were, who gave him this name. They could not be his fellow-citizens of Cumae, becauſe theſe were Greeks; and, in their language, every one, who underſtands it, knows the ſignification of μαλακος. But Plutarch, preſently after, gives us great reaſon to believe that this name was given him, by the citizens of Cumae, for his infamous vice: For he ſays that, after Ariſtodemus had prevailed upon the army to aſſiſt him in baniſhing the ſenate, and he had obtained the tyranny, he ſurpaſſed himſelf in that very vice, from which he, probably, derived his name: ην μεν εν ταις περι γυναικας και ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ελευθερους αδικιαις αυτος ἑαυτου μοχθηροτατος.

[u] Γυναικ. αρετ. p. 261.

thence,

thence, in proceſs of time, by the Celtae, together with the Umbri, the Daunii, and many other Barbarians, endeavoured to ſubvert Cumae, a Greek city, ſituated in the country of the Opici, and built by the citizens of Eretria, and Chalcis, without being able to alledge any other juſt cauſe of their animoſity, than the proſperity of the city: For Cumae was, at that time, celebrated throughout all Italy for its riches, power, and many other advantages, as poſſeſſing the moſt fertil part of the Campanian plain, and being miſtreſs of the moſt convenient havens round the promontory [5] Miſenum. The Barbarians, therefore, inticed by theſe advantages, marched againſt this city with an army, conſiſting of no leſs than five hundred thouſand foot, and eighteen thouſand horſe. While they lay incamped not far from the city, a prodigy happened to them, of ſo wonderful a nature, that nothing like it is recorded to have fallen out at any time, or in any place, either among the Greeks, or Barbarians: For the rivers, that ran near their camp, one of which is called the [6] Vulturnus, and the other, the Glanis, leaving their natural courſe, flowed back, and, for a long time,

5. Μισηνον. See the one hundred and eighty ſecond annotation on the firſt book.

6. Ουλτουρνος — Γλανις. The firſt of theſe is the moſt conſiderable river of Campania, and, ſtill, retains its name, being called, by the Italians, [w] *Volturno*, and *Voltorno*. At the mouth of this river, and on the left of it, ſtood a town, which, from the river, was called *Vulturnum*, where *Caſtello à mai di* *Volturno*, is, now, to be ſeen. The other river was called *Glanis*, *Clanis*, *Glanius*, and *Liternus*, now, *il Lagno*. On the right of this river, and near the mouth of it, ſtood the city of *Liternum*, famous for the voluntary exile of the firſt Scipio Africanus, whoſe country houſe was here; on the ruins of which, a watch tower, called *la Torre di Patria*, was, afterwards, erected.

[w] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. c. 2.

continued to run, from their mouths, to their ſources. The Cumaeans, being informed of this prodigy, were encouraged by it to fight the Barbarians, in confidence that Heaven deſigned to depreſs the elevated condition of the latter, and to raiſe their own, which then ſeemed low. And, having divided all their youth into three bodies, they appointed one of them to defend the city, another to guard the ſhips, and the third they drew up under the walls to receive the enemy: Theſe conſiſted of ſix hundred horſe, and of four thouſand five hundred foot. And, though ſo few in number, they ſuſtained the attack of ſo many myriads.

IV. When the Barbarians heard they were reſolved to fight, they came on ſhouting, according to the cuſtom of Barbarians, without order, the horſe intermixed with the foot, in expectation of cutting them all in pieces. The place, where they ingaged, lay before the city, being a narrow valley, ſurrounded with mountains, and lakes, which was a friend to the valor of the Cumaeans, and an enemy to the multitude of the Barbarians: For, being thrown down, and trampled upon by one another, particularly in the boggs near the lake, the greateſt part of them were deſtroyed by their own people, without, even, ingaging the army of the Greeks. By this means, their foot, conſiſting of ſuch numbers, defeated itſelf; and, without performing any brave action, diſperſed themſelves every way, and fled. However, the horſe ingaged, and gave the Greeks great trouble: But, being unable to ſurround them, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the ground, and the gods aſſiſting the Greeks, in ſome meaſure,

meaſure, with lightning, rain, and thunder, the others were ſeized with fear, and ran away. In this action, all the Cumaean horſe fought with remarkable bravery; and were allowed to have been the chief cauſe of the victory. But Ariſtodemus, ſurnamed Malacus, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt: For, he alone ſuſtained the attack of the enemy, and killed their general, and, with him, many other brave men. The war being at an end, the Cumaeans, having offered ſacrifices to the gods in thankſgiving for their victory, and buried, in a ſumptuous manner, thoſe, who had been ſlain in the battle, entered into great conteſts to whom they ought to give the firſt crown, as a reward for his ſuperior bravery: For the impartial judges were deſirous to beſtow this honor upon Ariſtodemus, who was, alſo, ſupported by the favor of all the people. On the other ſide, the men in power deſired to confer it upon Hippomedon, the general of the horſe; and, in this, the whole ſenate concurred: The Cumaeans were, at that time, governed by an ariſtocracy, and the people had not the diſpoſal of many things. A ſedition ariſing from this conteſt, the men of a more advanced age, being afraid leſt this emulation ſhould proceed to arms, and murders, prevailed on both the parties to conſent that each of the pretenders ſhould receive an equal ſhare of the honors. From this beginning, Ariſtodemus Malacus became a leader of the people; and, having acquired a faculty of ſpeaking upon political ſubjects, he ſeduced them by his harangues, improved their condition by popular laws, diſcovered the depredations of the men in power.

power, and relieved many of the poor with his own money. By this means, he became both odious, and formidable, to the leading men of the ariſtocracy.

V. The twentieth year after the ingagement with the Barbarians, embaſſadors from the Aricini came to the Cumaeans with the enſigns of ſuppliants, to beg their aſſiſtance againſt the Tyrrhenians, who made war upon them: For, as [7] I related in a former book, Porſena, king of the Tyrrhenians, having made peace with the Romans, ſent his ſon Aruns with one half of the army, at his deſire, to acquire a ſovereignty for himſelf. His ſon was, then, beſieging the Aricini, whom he had forced to fly to their city for refuge, and expected to take it, ſoon, by famine. When theſe embaſſadors arrived, the leading men of the ariſtocracy, hating Ariſtodemus, and fearing he might do ſome prejudice to the eſtabliſhed government, thought they had the faireſt of all opportunities to get rid of him, under a ſpecious pretence: And, having prevailed upon the people to ſend two thouſand men to the relief of the Aricini, and appointed Ariſtodemus to be their general, as a man famous for his military achievements, they, after that, took ſuch meaſures, as gave them room to expect that he would either be deſtroyed in battle by the Tyrrhenians, or periſh at ſea: For, being impowered by the ſenate to raiſe the forces, that were to be ſent as auxiliaries, they employed no men of family, or reputation; but, chuſing out the pooreſt, and the moſt profligate of the common people, from whom they

7. Ως εν τοις προ τουτου δεδηλωκα λογοις. See the thirty ſixth chapter of the fifth book.

were

were under continual apprehenſion of ſome innovations, they, with theſe, made up the complement of men, who were to be ſent upon this expedition; and having brought out of the docks ten old ſhips, the worſt ſailors they had, and appointed the pooreſt of all the Cumaeans to command them, they imbarked the forces on board theſe ſhips, threatening with death every one, who ſhould deſert the ſervice.

VI. Upon which, Ariſtodemus, having only ſaid that he was not ignorant of the deſign of his enemies, who were ſending him, in appearance, to the aſſiſtance of the Aricini, but, in reality, to manifeſt deſtruction, accepted the command, and, immediately, ſet ſail with the embaſſadors of the Aricini; and, having performed the voyage with great difficulty, and danger, he arrived on the coaſt near to Aricia; and, leaving a ſufficient number of men to guard the ſhips, he marched, the firſt night, from the ſea, to that city, which was not far diſtant, and, unexpectedly, appeared the next morning early within ſight of the inhabitants: Then, incamping near the city, and having prevailed upon the citizens, who had fled to Aricia, to come out into the field, he, preſently, invited the Tyrrhenians to an ingagement. And, a ſharp battle inſuing, the Aricini, after a very ſhort reſiſtance, all gave way, and, again, fled to the city: But Ariſtodemus, with a ſmall body of Cumaeans, who were choſen men, ſuſtained the united ſhock of the enemy; and, having killed the general of the Tyrrhenians with his own own hand, he put theſe foreigners to flight, and gained the moſt glorious of all victories. After he had performed theſe things,

things, and been honoured with many preſents by the Aricini, he ſailed away immediately, deſiring to be himſelf the meſſenger to the Cumaeans of his own victory. He was followed by a great number of merchant ſhips belonging to the Aricini, laden with the ſpoils, and priſoners, taken from the Tyrrhenians. When they were arrived near Cumae, he brought his ſhips to the ſhore; and, aſſembling his army, inveighed, vehemently, againſt the chief men of the city, and gave great commendations to thoſe ſoldiers, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the late ingagement; and, having given money to every one of them, and divided the preſents he had received from the Aricini among them all, he deſired they would remember theſe favors, when they returned home; and, if he ſhould be threatened with any danger from the oligarchy, that every one of them would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power. All the ſoldiers acknowledged themſelves to be under great obligations to him, not only, for their unexpected preſervation, for which they were indebted to him, but, alſo, for their not returning home with empty hands; and promiſed to ſacrifice their own lives, ſooner than to abandon him to his enemies: Upon which, he commended their zeal, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly. After this, he called into his tent thoſe among them, who were the moſt profligate, and the moſt daring in their own perſons; and, having corrupted them with preſents, fair words, and hopes, the ſeducers of all men, he ingaged them to aſſiſt him in ſubverting the eſtabliſhed government.

VII.

VII. After he had ſecured the concurrence, and aſſiſtance of theſe men, and acquainted every one with the part he was to act, he ſet at liberty all the priſoners he had brought, without ranſom, in order to gain their affection alſo, and ſailed into the ports of Cumae, his ſhips carrying the enſigns of victory. When the ſoldiers diſimbarked, they were met by their fathers, mothers, the reſt of their relations, their children and wives, who, embracing them with tears, and kiſſes, ſaluted each of them with the moſt tender appellations: And all the other citizens, receiving the general with joy, and applauſe, conducted him to his houſe. The chief men of the city, particularly thoſe, who had given him the command, and concerted the other meaſures for his deſtruction, were grieved at this, and full of apprehenſions for their future ſafety. After a few days were paſſed, in which Ariſtodemus employed himſelf in performing his vows to the gods, and in waiting for the merchant ſhips, that were not yet arrived, when the time was come, he ſaid he deſired to give the ſenate an account of the circumſtances of the battle, and ſhew them the ſpoils. The ſenators aſſembling in great numbers, he preſented himſelf, and made a ſpeech to them, in which he related every thing, which had paſſed in the ingagement. While he was ſpeaking, his accomplices in the conſpiracy ruſhed into the ſenate, in a body, with ſwords under their garments; and killed all the partiſans of the ariſtocracy. Upon this, all, who were in the forum, except thoſe, privy to the conſpiracy, ſaved themſelves by flight; ſome

running into their houſes, and others out of the city: In the mean time, the conſpirators poſſeſſed themſelves of the citadel, and the docks, and the other ſtrong places of the city. The following night, he releaſed out of priſon all under ſentence of death, who were many; and, arming them, together with his friends, among whom were the Tyrrhenian priſoners, he formed of all theſe a guard for the ſecurity of his perſon. When it was day, he aſſembled the people; and, after many invectives againſt the citizens, who had been put to death by his orders, he ſaid that, having often ſought his life, they had been juſtly puniſhed by him, and that he was come to give liberty, equality, and many other advantages to all the reſt of the citizens.

VIII. Having ſaid this, and filled all the people with wonderful hopes, he eſtabliſhed two inſtitutions, which are, of all others, the moſt deſtructive, and the prologues to every tyranny, a diviſion of lands, and an abolition of debts; and promiſed, that he would take upon himſelf the care of both theſe things, if he were appointed general with abſolute power, till the public tranquillity ſhould be ſecured, and they had eſtabliſhed a democracy. The populace, and, particularly, the moſt profligate part of it, joyfully receiving a propoſal, which expoſed the fortunes of other men to their rapine, Ariſtodemus inveſted himſelf with the abſolute command, and propoſed another meaſure, by which he deceived them, and deprived them all of their liberty: For, pretending to ſuſpect that the rich would raiſe diſturbances, and inſurrections againſt the common people, on account

of

of the diviſion of lands, and the abolition of debts, he ſaid the only means he could think of to prevent a civil war, and the ſlaughter of citizens, and to guard againſt theſe miſeries before they happened, was, for all of them to bring their arms out of their houſes, and to conſecrate them to the gods, that they might make uſe of them againſt the invaſions of a foreign enemy, whenever there ſhould be a neceſſity for it, and not againſt one another; and that, in the mean time, they would be, properly, diſpoſed of, when placed in the temples of the gods. They being prevailed upon to agree to this alſo, he diſarmed all the Cumaeans the ſame day, and, the following days, he ſearched their houſes; where he put to death many worthy citizens, pretending they had not delivered up all their arms to be conſecrated to the gods: After which, he ſtrengthened his tyranny by three ſorts of guards; the firſt conſiſted of the meaneſt, and the moſt abandoned of the citizens, by whoſe means he had deſtroyed the ariſtocracy; the ſecond, of the moſt impious ſlaves, whom he himſelf had manumitted for having killed their maſters; and the third, of the moſt ſavage Barbarians, hired by him as mercenary troops: Theſe did not amount to leſs than two thouſand, and were far better ſoldiers than any of the reſt. He removed the ſtatues of thoſe he had put to death, from all places, both ſacred and profane, and placed his own in their room; and, ſeizing their houſes, and their eſtates, and the reſt of their fortunes, he reſerved for himſelf the gold, and ſilver, and every thing elſe, that was not too mean for the dignity of a tyrant, and

divided the remainder among the inſtruments of his uſurpation: But the greateſt part of theſe preſents, and the moſt valuable he gave to the ſlaves, who had killed their maſters: However, theſe inſiſted, alſo, to marry their wives, and daughters.

IX. At firſt, he made no account of the male children of thoſe, who had been put to death; but afterwards, either by the direction of ſome oracle, or from the reflexion he might, naturally, make, that, in them, no ſmall danger was breeding up againſt him, he reſolved to murder them all in one day: But, as all the men, to whom their mothers were married after the death of their former huſbands, and by whom the children themſelves were bringing up, begged, earneſtly, of him to ſpare them, he was willing to grant them this favor alſo; and, contrary to his reſolution, did not put them to death: However, to prevent their entering into any conſpiracy againſt the tyranny, he took this precaution; he ordered them all to depart the city, and live in the country diſperſed here and there, and to be inſtructed in no ſcience, or diſcipline becoming the children of freemen; but to tend flocks, and perform other works of agriculture; threatening with death every one of them, who ſhould be found in the city. Upon which, theſe children, being turned out of the houſes of their anceſtors, were brought up in the country like ſlaves, and ſerved the murderers of their fathers. And, to the end that no generous, or manly ſpirit might ſpring up in the reſt of the citizens, he reſolved to effeminate, by education, the whole race of the youth, then

bringing

bringing up in the city; and, with that view, he ſuppreſſed the ſchools, and the exerciſe of arms; and changed the manner of living, before in uſe among the youth: For, he ordered the boys to wear their hair long, like girls, to [8] dye it yellow, to curl it, and faſten thoſe curls to cauls of net-work, and to wear imbroidered veſts, that reached down to their feet, and, over theſe, thin, and ſoft mantles, and to paſs their lives in the ſhade: And, when they went to the ſchools, where dancing, playing on the flute, and ſuch kinds of muſical allurements were taught, their governeſſes attended them with umbrellos and fans, waſhed them with their own hands, when they bathed, and ſupplied them with combs, alabaſter pots full of precious ointments, and looking-glaſſes. By this education, he continued to enervate the youth, till they had completed their twentieth year; and, from that time, ſuffered them to be conſidered as men. Having by theſe, and many other methods, abuſed, and inſulted the Cumaeans, without refraining from any kind of luſt, or cruelty, when he thought himſelf ſecure in the poſſeſſion of the tyranny, being now grown old, he was puniſhed to the ſatisfaction both of gods, and men, and extirpated with all his family.

[8] Εξανθιζομενȣς. I am afraid Caſaubon is miſtaken in interpreting this word ανθεσι παττομενȣς: For I cannot find it uſed in that ſenſe in any author. But I find εξανθιζω taken in the ſame ſenſe with ξανθιζω, againſt which Caſaubon cautions his readers. However, the Greek ſcholiaſt makes the following obſervation upon theſe words of Ariſtophanes, [x] αἱ καθημεθ' εξηνθισμεναι· τινες δε και το εξανθιζειν λαμβανȣσιν αντι τȣ ἁπλȣ ξανθιζειν, τȣτ' εςι ξανθον ποιειν. For this reaſon, I do not think it neceſſary, with Stephens, to ſubſtitute ξανθιζομενȣς in the room of εξανθιζομενȣς. [y] Julius Pollux, in ſpeaking of thoſe, whoſe hair was dyed yellow, or black, ſays, ξανθιζεσθαι την κομην, και μελαινεσθαι.

[x] Λυσις. v. 43. [y] B. ii. Segm. 35.

X. The

X. The perſons, who roſe againſt him, and freed their country from the tyranny, were the ſons of the citizens he had murdered: All of whom he had, at firſt, reſolved to put to death in one day; but, being prevailed upon by the intreaties of his life guards, to whom he had given their mothers in marriage, he changed his reſolution, as I ſaid, and ordered them to live in the country. A few years after, as he was making a progreſs through the villages, he ſaw a great number of theſe youths, who made a brave appearance; and, fearing they might concert an inſurrection againſt him, he reſolved to prevent it, by putting them all to death, before any one of them ſhould be aware of it: And, aſſembling his friends, he conſidered with them by what means, they might, with the greateſt eaſe, and expedition, be, privately, put to death. The youths, being apprized of this, either by the information of ſome perſon, who was acquainted with the deſign, or ſuſpecting it from well-grounded conjectures, fled to the mountains, taking with them the iron inſtruments they uſed in huſbandry. They were, preſently, joined by the Cumaean exiles, who reſided in Capua; the moſt conſiderable of whom, and thoſe, who brought with them the greateſt number of Campanians, their gueſts, were the ſons of Hippomedon, who had been general of the horſe in the Tyrrhenian war: Theſe came well armed themſelves, and brought with them arms for the youths, and alſo, a good body of Campanian mercenaries, and of their own friends, which they had raiſed. When they were all joined, they came down from the moun-

mountains, and plundered the lands of their enemies; inticed the ſlaves from their maſters; releaſed the priſoners everywhere, and armed them; and the effects, and cattle they could not carry off, they either burnt, or killed. While the tyrant was at a loſs to reſolve in what manner he ſhould make war upon them, becauſe they neither made their attempts openly, nor ſtaid long in the ſame places, but meaſured their incurſions, either from the coming on of the night, to the break of day, or, from thence, to the return of the night; and, after he had, often, ſent out forces to the relief of the country in vain, one of the fugitives, ſent by the reſt as a deſerter, his body being torne with whips, came to him; and, after ſuing for impunity, promiſed the tyrant to conduct the troops he ſhould think fit to ſend with him, to the place, where the fugitives propoſed to incamp the following night. The tyrant, being induced to truſt this man, who aſked nothing, and offered his own perſon as an hoſtage, ſent thoſe of his commanders, whom he, chiefly, confided in, with a great number of horſe, and the band of mercenaries, with orders to bring all the fugitives, if poſſible, if not, the greateſt part of them, to him in chains. The pretended deſerter led the army, during the whole night, through untrodden paths, and deſert woods, where they ſuffered exceedingly, to thoſe parts, that were fartheſt from the city.

XI. In the mean time, the revolters, and the fugitives, who lay in ambuſcade on the hills, with which the lake Avernus

[9] Avernus is ſurrounded, not far from Cumae, being informed by the ſignals, made by their ſcouts, that the tyrant's army was marched out of the city, ſent thither about ſixty the moſt reſolute among them, dreſſed in leather doublets, with faggots of bruſh wood upon their ſhoulders: Theſe found means to get into the city about the cloſe of the evening, like labourers, ſome at one gate, and ſome at another, without being taken notice of: When they were there, they drew out the ſwords they had concealed in the faggots, and all met in the ſame place. Marching from thence, in a body, to the gates, that led to the lake Avernus, they killed the guards, while they were aſleep; and their own army being, by this time, arrived near the walls, they opened the gates, and received them all into the city; and, in doing this alſo, they were not diſcovered: For, that night, there happened to be a public feſtival, and all the citizens were drinking, and employed in other diverſions, which gave the others an opportunity of marching through all the ſtreets, that led to the tyrant's palace, without being diſturbed: Neither did they find, even at the gates, any

9. Αορνον. This was the Greek name for the *Avernus lacus*. The reaſon of this Greek appellation is, thus, given by [z] Virgil;

Quam ſuper haud ullae poterant impune volantes
Tendere iter pennis; talis ſeſe halitus atris
Faucibus effundens ſupera ad convexa ferebat:
Unde locum Graii dixerunt nomine Aornum.

The peſtiferous quality of the air, ſtagnating over this lake, which was ſo [a] noxious to birds, was owing to the hills covered with wood, that ſurrounded it, as all authors agree; and as it appeared, when Agrippa, by the order of Auguſtus, cut down theſe woods: For, after that, the air loſt its ill quality. This lake, now, called, [b] *il lago d'*Averno, and *il lago di Trepergole*, lies, nearly, eaſt of Cumae.

[z] Aeneid. B. vi. ℣. 239. [a] Strabo, B. v. p. 375. [b] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. c. 2.

number

number of guards upon duty; but, here alſo, ſome were aſleep, and others drunk, whom they killed without any difficulty; and, ruſhing into the palace in a body, they found all the reſt infeebled both in body, and mind, with drunkenneſs, and ſtabbed them like ſheep: And, having ſeized Ariſtodemus himſelf, with his ſons, and the reſt of his relations, they tore their bodies with whips, and tortures, during a great part of the night; and, after they had inflicted on them all kinds of puniſhments, they put them to death. Having extirpated the whole family of the tyrant, ſo as to leave neither children, wives, nor any one related to them, and ſpent the whole night in finding out all the inſtruments of the tyranny, as ſoon as it was day, they proceeded to the forum: Then, calling the people together, they laid down their arms, and reſtored the ancient government.

XII. Before this Ariſtodemus, who was, at that time, in the fourteenth year of his tyranny over the Cumaeans, the Romans, who had been baniſhed with Tarquinius, preſented themſelves, and deſired him to ſit in judgement againſt their country. The Roman embaſſadors oppoſed this for ſome time, alledging that they were not come to enter into this conteſt, nor furniſhed with any other powers than thoſe they had received from the ſenate, which did not extend to a defence of the commonwealth: But, when this made no impreſſion, and they ſaw the tyrant, through the earneſtneſs, and ſolicitations of the exiles, inclined to the other ſide, they deſired time to prepare for their defence; and, having

depoſited a ſum of money, as a pledge for their appearance, while the ſuit was depending, and they were, no longer, guarded, they fled. Upon which, the tyrant ſeized their domeſtics, their ſumpter horſes, and the money they had brought with them to purchaſe corn. Theſe ſeveral embaſſadors, therefore, having been treated in the manner I have mentioned, returned without effecting any thing. But thoſe, who had been ſent to Tyrrhenia, bought up a quantity of millet, and ſpelt in that country, and brought it to Rome in boats. This ſupply maintained the Romans for a ſhort time: But, when conſumed, left them in the ſame want as before. And there was no ſort of food mankind were, ever, reduced to through neceſſity, which they did not attempt to eat. By which it happened that not a few of them, as well by want, as by the miſchief ariſing from unaccuſtomed food, were thrown into diſeaſes; or, by being neglected by reaſon of their poverty, were, intirely, unable to help themſelves. When the Volſci, who had been lately overcome, heard this, they ſolicited one another, by private embaſſies, to enter into a war againſt the Romans, upon a ſuppoſition, that, if any one attacked them, while they were diſtreſſed both by war, and famine, they would be unable to reſiſt. But the benevolence of the gods, who were, always, careful not to ſuffer the Romans to be ſubdued by their enemies, ſhewed her power upon this occaſion, alſo, in a moſt conſpicuous manner: For, ſo great a peſtilence ſeized, at once, the inhabitants of the Volſcian cities, that the like to it had never been heard of in any other parts, either among the Barbarians,

Barbarians, or Greeks, and deſtroyed them without diſtinction of age, condition, or ſex, or of ſtrong, or weak conſtitutions. Velitrae, a conſiderable city of the Volſci, of large extent, and, till then, very populous, was an inſtance of the greatneſs of this calamity; of whoſe inhabitants the plague left but one part out of ten, and carried off all the reſt. At laſt, thoſe, who ſurvived this misfortune, ſent embaſſadors to the Romans, to inform them of their deſolation, and to deliver up their city to them: For they had, even before that time, received a colony from Rome; for which reaſon, they, now, deſired a ſecond to be ſent to them.

XIII. When the Romans were informed of theſe things, they compaſſionated their misfortune; and thought themſelves obliged to retain no reſentment againſt their enemies, when under ſo ſevere an affliction; ſince the gods had, ſufficiently, puniſhed them for the deſigns they had formed againſt their commonwealth. As to the city of Velitrae, they thought proper to receive it, and to ſend a numerous colony thither, in conſideration of the many advantages, that would reſult to them from that meaſure: For the place itſelf, when ſtrongly garriſoned, ſeemed very proper to check, and obſtruct the deſigns of thoſe, who might be diſpoſed to innovate, or raiſe commotions: And it was expected that the ſcarcity of proviſions, under which the city, then, laboured, would be far leſs ſenſible, if any conſiderable number of the citizens were removed. But, above all other conſiderations, the freſh ſedition, which was, then, breaking out, before the former was quite appeaſed, induced them

to order the colony to be ſent to Velitrae: For the people began, again, to be inflamed, as before, and to be exaſperated againſt the patricians: And many ſevere reflexions were thrown out againſt them, ſome accuſing them of neglect, and indolence, in not having, long, foreſeen the ſcarcity of corn, and taken the neceſſary precautions to avert that calamity; and others giving out that this ſcarcity was occaſioned by their contrivance, and flowed from their reſentment, and a deſire to diſtreſs the people, in remembrance of their ſeceſſion: For theſe reaſons, the colony was, preſently, ſent; [10] three perſons being appointed by the ſenate to be the leaders of it. At firſt, the people were pleaſed that lands were to be allotted to ſome of their number, who, by that means, would be freed from the famine, and inhabit a fertil country: But, afterwards, when they conſidered that the peſtilence had raged violently in the city, that was to receive them, and deſtroyed the inhabitants, and gave room to fear that it would treat the colony in the ſame manner, they, by degrees, entertained contrary ſentiments: So that, not many offered themſelves to partake of the colony, but fewer, by many, than the ſenate had decreed: And theſe, already, blamed themſelves for having taken an imprudent reſolution, and declined going out. However, they were

10. Τριῶν ἀνδρῶν. Theſe were called, by the Romans, *Triumviri Agrarii*, or *Triumviri coloniae deducendae*. Theſe triumvirs, le Jay ſays, were created by the people, in the *Comitia tributa*. *Les triumvirs ſe créoient dans une aſſemblée du peuple par tribus*. Here is a double error. In the firſt place, our author ſays, expreſly, that theſe triumvirs were created by the ſenate: And ſecondly, there were, as yet, no *tributa comitia*; the trial of Coriolanus having given occaſion to the tribunes of the people to inſtitute theſe comitia. The reaſons of which will be explained by our author in the fifty ninth chapter of this book.

taken

taken into it, and ſo were the others, who did not, willingly, join them; the ſenate having ordered that all the Romans ſhould draw lots for completing the colony; and that all thoſe, upon whom the lot fell, ſhould be puniſhed in a ſevere, and inexorable manner, if they did not go. This colony, therefore, was ſent to Velitræ by a ſpecious compulſion. And, not many days after, another colony was ſent to [11] Norba, which is no inconſiderable city of the Latines.

XIV. However the deſign of the patricians, as far as it related to the appeaſing of the ſedition, was, intirely, diſappointed: For the people, who were left at home, were, now, more exaſperated than before, and clamoured, violently, againſt the ſenators: They aſſembled, at firſt, in ſmall numbers, and held meetings with their friends; but, afterwards, as the famine encreaſed, they met in a body; and, running into the forum, called upon the tribunes. And theſe having aſſembled the people, Spurius Icilius, who was, then, at the head of the college of the tribunes, roſe up, and, not only, uſed many invectives againſt the ſenate himſelf, inflaming, by all poſſible means, the envy of the people againſt them, but, alſo, called upon others to deliver their ſentiments in public; and, particularly, upon Sicinnius, and Brutus, who were then ediles (calling each of them by their name) and had been the authors of the firſt receſſion of the people; and, having introduced the tribunitian power, had,

[11] Εις Νορβαν πολιν. [c] *Norba*, now called, *Norma*, and *Norme*, was a city of the Latines, after Latium extended eaſtward as far as the Liris.

[c] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 8.

firſt,

firſt, been inveſted with it. Theſe, having, long before, prepared the moſt malicious ſpeeches, roſe up, and enlarged upon thoſe points, that were grateful to the generality of the people, alledging that the want of corn was occaſioned by the contrivance, and treachery of the rich, againſt whoſe will the people had acquired their liberty by the ſeceſſion. And they ſhewed that the rich had not, in the leaſt degree, an equal ſhare of this calamity with the poor; the former having proviſions, privately, hoarded up; and, wanting no money to purchaſe Thoſe, that were imported, they laughed at the famine. Whereas the plebeians were in want of both. They added, that they had ſent the colony, which was deſtined to breathe a peſtilential air, to a manifeſt, and much worſe deſtruction; and, exaggerating, with all their power, the terror of theſe things, aſked, What end there was to be of their miſeries? They put them in mind of the ſtripes they had, formerly, received from the rich, and laid open many other things of this nature with great freedom. And Brutus cloſed his ſpeech with this threat, that, if they would follow his advice, he would, ſoon, compel thoſe, who had kindled this miſchief, to extinguiſh it. After which, the aſſembly was diſmiſſed.

XV. The next day, the conſuls, being terrified with theſe new commotions, and looking upon the popularity of Brutus to threaten the commonwealth with ſome great evil, aſſembled the ſenate: Where many, and various things were propoſed, both by the conſuls themſelves, and by the reſt of the ancient ſenators: Some being of opinion that they ought to

to court the people by all poſſible expreſſions of kindneſs, and by promiſes of effectual relief, and to moderate the heat of their leaders by communicating their counſels with them, and by inviting them to deliberate, jointly with themſelves, on the public utility: But others adviſed not to yield, or relax, in any thing, to an imperious, and ignorant multitude, and to the bold, and inſufferable madneſs of the flatterers of the people; but to clear themſelves of their accuſations, by aſſuring the plebeians, that the patricians were, in no reſpect, the occaſion of what had happened; and that they would take all poſſible care to remedy this evil; and, alſo, to reprimand the diſturbers of the people, and to let them know, that, if they did not deſiſt from inflaming the ſedition, they ſhould be brought to condign puniſhment. Appius was at the head of thoſe, who were of this opinion, which carried it, after very great conteſts among the ſenators: So that, even the people, hearing the clamor at a great diſtance, ran, in diſorder, to the ſenate, and the whole city was alarmed. After this, the conſuls, going into the forum, called the people together (the day being almoſt ſpent) and were going to inform them of the reſolutions of the ſenate: But the tribunes oppoſed it. Upon which, they neither ſpoke in their turns, nor obſerved any decency in their debate: For they cried out together, and endeavoured to [12] exclude one another from the aſſembly: So that, it was not

[12] Ἐξεκλειον. I cannot find this word uſed in the ſenſe, which all the tranſlators have given to it; that is *obſtrepebant*. The only ſignification I have, however, obſerved it to be taken in is That of *excludebant*, which, for that reaſon, I think myſelf obliged to adhere to.

eaſy

eaſy for thoſe, who were preſent, to underſtand what they meant.

XVI. The conſuls thought it reaſonable that, as they had the ſuperior power, they ſhould have the ſole command in the city: On the other ſide, the tribunes inſiſted that the aſſembly of the people was their peculiar ſphere, as the ſenate was That of the conſuls; and that, whatever the people had the authority to judge, and determine, was ſubject to their power alone. The people ſupported theſe by their acclamations; and, at the ſame time, were prepared (if neceſſary) to attack their oppoſers: On the other ſide, the patricians, gathering round the conſuls, encouraged them; and a violent conteſt inſued, each ſide inſiſting upon not yielding to the other, as if, by this ſingle defeat, the claim of each was, for the future, to be given up. The ſun, now, declining, the reſt of the people ran out of their houſes to the forum; and, if the night had not put an end to the conteſt, they had proceeded to blows, and throwing of ſtones. But, to prevent this, Brutus preſented himſelf, and deſired the conſuls to give him leave to ſpeak, promiſing to appeaſe the tumult: And they, looking upon this as a yielding to them, becauſe, when the tribunes were preſent, that patron of the people had not aſked this favor of them, gave him leave. And all being ſilent, Brutus made no ſpeech, but, only, aſked the conſuls the following queſtion; Do you remember, ſaid he, that, when we put an end to the ſedition by an accommodation, this right was granted to us, that, when the tribunes ſhould aſſemble the people upon any account whatever,

ever, the patricians ſhould not be preſent at the aſſembly, or create any diſturbance there? We remember it, anſwered Geganius. Then, Brutus added, "Why, therefore, "do you oppoſe us, and not ſuffer the tribunes to ſay what "they pleaſe?" To this Geganius replied; "Becauſe the "tribunes did not aſſemble the people, but the conſuls: If, "therefore, the people had been aſſembled by them, we ſhould "have neither oppoſed, nor inquired into what they were "doing; but, ſince we ourſelves have aſſembled them, we do "not hinder the tribunes from ſpeaking, but complain that "we ourſelves are hindered by them." Then, Brutus ſaid; "We have conquered, citizens; and our adverſaries have "yielded every thing to us we deſired. Now, therefore, de-"part, and ceaſe to contend: And I promiſe you that, to-"morrow, I will ſhew you your ſtrength. And you, tribunes, "yield the forum to them, for the preſent: You will not, al-"ways, yield it, when you know how great a power your ma-"giſtracy is poſſeſſed of: This you will be informed of ſhortly; "and I myſelf ingage to make it appear to you; and, at the "ſame time, to humble the pride of theſe men: And, if you "find I have impoſed upon you, treat me as you think fit."

XVII. None having oppoſed this, both parties left the aſſembly; but not with the like impreſſions: For the poor were of opinion that Brutus had found out ſomething extraordinary, and that he had not, raſhly, made a promiſe of that nature. On the other ſide, the patricians deſpiſed the levity of the man, and thought the boldneſs of his promiſes would go no farther than words: They imagined

that no other power had been granted by the ſenate to the tribunes, than That of relieving the plebeians, when oppreſſed. However, this inattention to the importance of the affair did not, equally, poſſeſs all the ſenators, and, leaſt of all, Thoſe of a more advanced age, who were upon their guard, leſt the madneſs of this man might occaſion ſome irreparable miſchief. The following night, Brutus, having communicated his thoughts to the tribunes, and prepared a good number of the plebeians to ſupport him, went with them to the forum; and, before ſun-riſe, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the temple of Vulcan, where the aſſemblies of the people were, uſually, held, and the tribunes called the citizens together: And the forum being crouded (for greater multitudes appeared upon this occaſion, than had ever been known before) Icilius, the tribune, roſe up, and made a long ſpeech againſt the patricians, putting the people in mind of all they had ſuffered from them: After which, he told them that, the day before, he had been hindered by them from ſpeaking, and deprived of the power of his magiſtracy. "What other power, ſays he, ſhall we have after this, if we "are not allowed even That of ſpeaking? How ſhall we "be able to relieve any of you, when oppreſſed by them, "if we are deprived of the authority of aſſembling you? "For all actions are governed by words; and it is manifeſt "that thoſe, who are not allowed to ſay what they think, "will not be allowed to execute what they pleaſe. Reſume, "therefore, the power you have given us, ſays he, unleſs "you deſign to ſecure that power; or enact a law to prevent

"all

" all oppoſition to us for the future." Having ſaid this, the people cried out to him with great acclamations, to bring in the law: Which Icilius, who had it ready drawn up, read to them; and, immediately, put it to the vote: For the affair ſeemed to admit of no delay, leſt ſome oppoſition might be made to it by the conſuls. The law was as follows: " When a tribune is ſpeaking to the people, let no " man oppoſe, or interrupt, him: Whoever ſhall act con- " trary to this, let him, if required, give ſureties to the tri- " bunes for the payment of the fine they ſhall impoſe upon " him: If he refuſes to give ſureties, let him be puniſhed " with death, and his goods be conſecrated: And let the con- " teſts, relating to theſe fines, be determined by the people." After the tribunes had taken their votes in favor of this law, they diſmiſſed the aſſembly: And the people departed full of joy, and gave great thanks to Brutus, whom they looked upon as the inventor of the law.

XVIII. After this, there happened many conteſts upon various ſubjects between the tribunes, and the conſuls; and neither did the people eſteem valid what the ſenate had decreed, nor the ſenate approve of what the people had determined: But both of them perſiſted in their oppoſition to, and ſuſpicions of, one another. However, their hatred did not break out into any irreparable miſchief, as it often happens in the like diſorders. For the poor did not attack the houſes of the rich, where they might expect to find proviſions laid up, nor attempt to rob the markets; but ſubmitted to buy ſmall quantities of victuals at a great price; and, when they wanted

money, they fed patiently on roots, and herbs: Neither did the rich, in confidence of their own ſtrength, and of the ſtrength of their clients, who were very numerous, offer violence to the weaker ſort; and aim at making themſelves maſters of the city, by driving out ſome of the poor, and killing others: But, like fathers, who treat their ſons with the greateſt prudence, they continued to bear their errors with a [13] diſpoſition full of benevolence, and ſolicitude for their happineſs. While Rome was in this ſituation, the neighbouring cities invited ſuch of the Romans as deſired it, to live among them, alluring them by a communication of the privileges of their cities, and the hopes of other good uſage; ſome, from the beſt of motives, friendſhip, and compaſſion for their misfortune; but the greateſt part, through envy of their former proſperity. And very great numbers removed with their whole families; ſome of whom returned, when the affairs of the city were compoſed; and others remained where they were.

XIX. The conſuls, ſeeing theſe things, thought fit to raiſe forces, in which the ſenate concurred, and to march with them out of the city. Their deſign was favoured by the frequent incurſions, and depredations of their enemies, by

[13] Ευνοιαν και κηδεμονα τη οργη. I ſhould have imagined theſe two epithets might have taught the tranſlators that οργη, in this place, does not ſignify *Anger*. Yet Sylburgius, and the two French tranſlators, have given it that ſenſe. Portus has avoided the miſtake. Οργη is uſed by our author, upon this occaſion, in the ſame ſignification, in which [d] Thucydides uſes the word, when Pericles ſays to the Athenians; Καιπερ ειδως τους ανθρωπους κ τη αυλη ΟΡΓΗ αναπειθομενους τε πολεμειν, και εν τω οργω παρασκευας: Where the Greek ſcholiaſt explains οργη, by διανοια, τροπω, σκοπω.

[d] B. i. c. 140.

which

which their country was laid waſte; and they, alſo, conſidered the other advantages, that would reſult from ſending an army into the field; that thoſe, who were left, being fewer in number, would enjoy a greater plenty of proviſions; that the army, by ſupporting themſelves in the enemy's country, would live in greater abundance; and that the ſedition would be appeaſed, as long as the expedition laſted: But, above all, it ſeemed, that if the patricians, and plebeians ſerved together, an equal ſhare both of good, and ill fortune, in all the dangers of the war, would, effectually, confirm their reconciliation. But the people did not obey them, nor willingly, as before, offer themſelves to liſt in the ſervice: And the conſuls did not think fit to inforce the law againſt thoſe, who were unwilling to ſerve. But ſome patrician voluntiers, together with their clients, were inliſted: And, when they marched out of the city, they were joined by a ſmall number of the people. This army was commanded by Caius Marcius, who had taken the city of Corioli, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all others in the battle againſt the Antiates. The greateſt part of the plebeians, who aſſiſted in this expedition, ſeeing him take the field, were induced to it from affection, and others, from the hopes of ſucceſs: For this man was, already, famous, and the enemy, greatly, afraid of him. This army, having marched as far as the city of Antium, made themſelves maſters, not only, of a great deal of corn they found in the fields, but, likewiſe, of a great number of ſlaves, and cattle; and, after a ſhort time, returned better ſupplied, than before, with all the neceſ-

neceſſaries of life: So that, thoſe, who had declined the ſervice, were full of confuſion, and of reſentment againſt their demagogues, by whoſe means they looked upon themſelves to have been deprived of the ſame felicity. Thus Geganius, and Minucius, the conſuls of this year, after great, and various ſtorms, in which they were, often, in danger of ſubverting the commonwealth, occaſioned no misfortune to it; but preſerved it intire, by acting, upon every occaſion, in ſuch a manner, that their prudence was more conſpicuous than their good fortune.

XX. The following conſuls, Marcus Minucius Augurinus, and Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, who were both inveſted with this magiſtracy for the ſecond time, being not unſkilled either in military affairs, or in ſpeaking, took great care to ſupply the city with plenty both of corn, and of all other proviſions, looking upon the union of the people with the ſenate to depend upon that abundance. However, they had not the good fortune to obtain both theſe ends at the ſame time; but the ſatiety of theſe advantages was attended with the inſolence of thoſe, who had the benefit of them. Upon which occaſion, Rome was, again, expoſed to the greateſt danger, when it was leaſt expected: For the embaſſadors, ſent to buy corn, brought all they had purchaſed, both in the maritime, and inland markets, to the city for the uſe of the public: And the merchants alſo, who uſed to import corn, flocked thither from all parts: Of whom the commonwealth bought their lading with the public money, and preſerved it carefully. At the ſame time, Geganius, and Valerius,

Valerius, who had, before, been ſent embaſſadors to Sicily, arrived with many merchant ſhips, in which they brought fifty thouſand [14] Sicilian buſhels of wheat; one half of which was purchaſed at a very low price, and the reſt the king had made the Romans a preſent of, and ſent it at his own expence. When it was known at Rome that the ſhips were arrived from Sicily laden with corn, the patricians deliberated, a long time, concerning the diſpoſal of it: For thoſe among them, who were moſt humane, and the greateſt favourers of the people, reflecting on the public neceſſity, adviſed them to diſtribute the corn, given them by the king, among all the plebeians; and to ſell That, which had been purchaſed with the public money, to them at a low price; ſhewing that, by theſe favors, more than by any other means, the animoſity of the poor againſt the rich would be ſoftened. On the other ſide, thoſe, who were of a more haughty diſpoſition, and more zealous for the oligarchy, were of opinion that they ought to employ all their endeavours, and every method, to oppreſs the plebeians; and theſe adviſed to ſell the corn to them at the higheſt price poſſible; to the end they might, through neceſſity, become more modeſt, and more obſervant of the rules preſcribed by their conſtitution.

XXI. One of theſe oligarchical patricians was that Marcius, ſurnamed Coriolanus, who did not, like the reſt,

14. Μεδιμνῶν Σικελικων. Suidas, from Harpocration, ſays that the μεδιμνος contained forty eight choenix's, that is, according to Arbuthnot, four pecks, and ſix pints, Engliſh meaſure: This was the μεδιμνος Αττικος. But there was another μεδιμνος, called γεωργικος, which, I believe, was the ſame with the μεδιμνος Σικελικος: This contained ſix Roman *Modii*, that is, ſix Engliſh pecks.

deliver-

deliver his opinion with ſecrecy, and caution, but with ſo much openneſs, and boldneſs, that many, even of the plebeians, heard him. Beſides his complaints againſt them, which were of a public nature, he had, lately, received ſome perſonal provocations, that ſeemed to juſtify his hatred of the plebeians: For, having offered himſelf as a candidate for the conſulſhip at the laſt election, and being ſupported by the patricians, the people oppoſed him, and would not ſuffer that magiſtracy to be conferred on him: To which they were induced by their apprehenſions, leſt a man of his reputation, and boldneſs, might attempt ſome innovation to the ſubverſion of the tribuneſhip; and they were the more afraid of him, becauſe the whole body of the patricians promoted his intereſt with a zeal they had, never before, ſhewn for any other candidate. The man, therefore, being exaſperated with this ignominy, and, at the ſame time, deſirous to reſtore the government to its [15] ancient form, he, not only, endeavoured openly, as I ſaid, to ſubvert the power of the people himſelf, but, alſo, ſought to ingage the reſt of the patricians in the ſame deſign. He was ſupported by a ſtrong faction of young men of great birth, and of the greateſt fortunes, and by many dependants, ingaged by the booty they had gained under him in the wars. Elevated with theſe advantages, he exulted, became conſpicuous, and arrived to the greateſt degree of

15. Εξ αρχης. I ſhould rather read εξαρχης, adverbially, for παλιν, to which it is, often, joined by Ariſtophanes: As he ſays in Plutus; [c] ει παλιν αναβλεψειεν εξαρχης; which two ſynonymous adverbs have the ſame ſenſe with παλιν αυθις, which he had joined together a few lines before.

[c] v. 867.

ſplendor.

ſplendor. But all this could not preſerve him from a fatal cataſtrophe: For the ſenate being aſſembled upon this occaſion, and the elder ſenators having, according to cuſtom, firſt delivered their opinions, of whom there were not many, who, openly, declared againſt the people, when it came to the turn of the younger ſenators to ſpeak, Marcius aſked leave of the conſuls to ſay what he thought proper; and, meeting with great encouragement, and attention, he made the following invective againſt the people.

XXII. "Fathers, I am confident that almoſt all of you, "when you conſider the advantages, which the people gained "by the accommodation, are ſenſible that they did not revolt "through neceſſity, and want, but were induced to it by "the unjuſtifiable hope of deſtroying your ariſtocracy, and "of making themſelves maſters of the commonwealth: "Since they were not ſatisfied with aboliſhing the faith of "contracts, and the laws made to ſecure that faith, without "carrying their views any farther; but they introduced a "new magiſtracy with a deſign to ſubvert That of the con-"ſuls, which magiſtracy they made ſacred and inviolable "by law; and have now, unobſerved by you, fathers, ac-"quired a tyrannical power by the law, lately, enacted: For, "when the leaders of the people, deriving, from the great "power they are inveſted with, the ſpecious pretence of "relieving the plebeians, when oppreſſed, [16]ruin, and deſtroy

16. Αγωσι και φερωσι. This military expreſſion is, ſometimes, applied to civil affairs, as we find it here. The Romans, who inriched their language with many Greek turns, tranſplanted this, alſo, into their own ſoil. An inſtance of which we ſee in Cicero's letter to Octavius, which, if not genuine, contains, at leaſt, many of his expreſſions; there we find, *eum agere, rapere rempublicam, cui nulla virtus, nullae belle ſubactae et ad imperium adjunctae provinciae.*

" whom they pleaſe by virtue of that power, and that no
" man, whether a private perſon, or a magiſtrate, dares
" oppoſe their violence for fear of this law, which, at once,
" deſtroys the liberty both of your words and actions, by
" impoſing the puniſhment of death on all thoſe, who ſpeak
" the language of freemen, what other name ought to be
" given by all men of ſenſe to this domination, but That,
" which is the true one, and which you will all own to be
" ſo, a tyranny? And, what is the difference whether we
" ſuffer the tyranny of one man, or of a whole people?
" For the effect of both is the ſame. The beſt thing,
" therefore, we could have done was, not to have ſuffered,
" even, the ſeed of this power to have been ſown, but rather
" to have undergone every thing, as Appius, the beſt of
" men, who foreſaw theſe miſchiefs from afar, adviſed:
" But, ſince that was not done, we ought, now at leaſt,
" unanimouſly to pluck it up by the roots, and caſt it out
" of the city, while it is yet weak, and eaſy to be deſtroyed.
" Neither ſhall we be the firſt, or the only perſons, to
" whom the ſame thing has happened; but many, and
" frequent have been the inſtances of men, who, being re-
" duced, by involuntary neceſſity, to commit errors in things
" of the greateſt conſequence, though unable to give a check
" to evils in their infancy, have endeavoured to prevent
" their growth: And the repentance of thoſe, who begin
" late to grow wiſe, though inferior to foreſight, yet, when
" ſeen in another light, appears not leſs valuable in effacing
" an original error, by preventing its conſequences.

XXIII.

XXIII. " But, if any of you look upon the actions of " the people to be outrageous, and that they ought to be " hindered from running into farther exceſſes, but are afraid " leſt they ſhould ſeem firſt to violate the agreement, and " tranſgreſs their oaths, let them know that they are not " the aggreſſors, when they repel an injury, nor violate the " agreement in doing this, but chaſtiſe the violaters of it; " and that they will be guiltleſs in reſpect to the gods, and " act with juſtice, while they conſult their own intereſt. " And let this be a ſtrong argument to convince you, that " not yourſelves, but the plebeians firſt began to violate the " agreement, and the treaty, by not obſerving the condi- " tions, upon which they obtained their return: For they " deſired the tribunitian power, not to oppreſs the ſenate, " but to ſecure themſelves from their oppreſſion: And they, " no longer, employ this power in the things they ought, " or within the terms they obtained it, but to the corrup- " tion, and confuſion of the eſtabliſhed government. You " remember the late aſſembly of the people, and the ha- " rangues there made by their demagogues; what arrogance " and indecency they ſhewed; and, now, how theſe dan- " gerous men are elated, ſince they have diſcovered that " the whole ſtrength of the commonwealth conſiſts in votes, " of which, as the people exceed us in numbers, they are " ſure to have a majority. What, therefore, remains for us " to do, ſince they have begun to violate the treaty, and " the law, but to repel the attacks of the aggreſſors, juſtly " to deprive them of what they are, now, unjuſtly, poſſeſſed

" of, and put a ſtop to their ambitious views for the " future? While we return thanks to the gods, for not " having ſuffered them, when they had gained an uncon- " ſtitutional advantage, to act, after that, with modeſty, but " for having inſpired them with this impudence, and theſe " various aims, by which you are reduced to a neceſſity of " endeavouring both to recover the rights you have loſt, " and to preſerve Thoſe, that remain, with all the care they " deſerve.

XXIV. " The preſent opportunity is, of all others, the " moſt favourable, if, now at leaſt, you will begin to grow " wiſe, when the greateſt part of the people are reduced to " the utmoſt extremity by the famine, and the reſt cannot, " long, hold out through the want of money, if corn is " ſcarce, and they are forced to give a great price for it; " by which means, the moſt profligate, and thoſe, who were " never pleaſed with the ariſtocracy, will be forced to leave " the city, and the more modeſt, to behave themſelves with " decency, without giving you any farther trouble. Place a " guard, therefore, upon the corn, and abate nothing of the " price; but paſs an order that it ſhall, now, be ſold at as " high a price, as ever; for which you have juſt reaſons, " and plauſible pretences, ſuch as the ungrateful clamor of " the people, as if the ſcarcity of corn was contrived by you, " when it was occaſioned by their own revolt, and the de- " ſolation of the country, which they ravaged with the ſame " fierceneſs, as if it had belonged to an enemy; to which " may be added the money, paid out of the treaſury to the

" perſons

" perſons ſent to purchaſe corn; and many other inſtances,
" in which you have been wronged by them: By this means
" alſo, we ſhall know at laſt, what grievous puniſhment it
" is they deſign to inflict upon us, if we refuſe to gratify
" the people in every thing, as their demagogues threatened,
" in order to frighten us. But, if you let ſlip this opportu-
" nity alſo, you will, often, wiſh for ſuch another. And, if
" the people hear that you deſired to ſubvert their authority,
" but deſiſted through fear, they will bear much harder
" upon you, and look upon that deſire to proceed from
" enmity, and your want of courage from your want of
" power."

XXV. After this ſpeech of Marcius, the opinions of the ſenators were divided; and a great tumult aroſe among them: For thoſe, who, from the beginning, had oppoſed the plebeians, and ſubmitted to the accommodation againſt their will, among whom were almoſt all the youth, and the richeſt, and moſt ambitious of the elder ſenators, who reſented the impudence of the people, ſome from the loſs they had ſuſtained in their contracts, and others, from being rejected when they ſued for honors, applauded Marcius, as a man of ſpirit, and a lover of his country, whoſe advice was of the greateſt advantage to the commonwealth. On the other ſide, the ſenators of popular principles, who ſet no greater value on [17] honors, and riches, than they deſerved,

17. Και την τιμην. Theſe words I have taken the liberty to ſubſtitute in the room of τον τροπον, which Sylburgius ſaw could not have a place here; for which reaſon, he changed it to κρολον, meaning the applauſe of the ſenate. Caſaubon would read και τον τροπον, and connect theſe words with τας προαιρεσεις.

and

and looked upon nothing to be more neceſſary than peace, were offended at his ſpeech, and rejected his advice: Theſe deſired they would not think of overcoming their inferiors by violence, but by humanity; and that they would not eſteem moderation, as unbecoming, but neceſſary; particularly, when exerted towards their fellow-citizens from a principle of benevolence: And they ſhewed that his advice was madneſs, not freedom of ſpeech, nor liberty. But theſe were few; and, being unſupported, were overborne by the violence of the others. The tribunes, ſeeing this (for they were preſent in the ſenate, being called in by the conſuls) cried out, and were in a great agitation, calling Marcius the peſt, and bane of his country, for having uttered malicious words againſt the people; and, unleſs the patricians prevented his deſign of kindling a civil war in the city, by puniſhing him either with death, or baniſhment, they threatened to do it themſelves. Theſe words of the tribunes having encreaſed the tumult, particularly on the part of the younger ſenators, who bore their threats with impatience, Marcius, animated by their reſentment, now attacked the tribunes with greater arrogance, and boldneſs, ſaying to them; "If you do not ceaſe to diſturb the commonwealth, and "to inflame the poor by your harangues, I ſhall, no longer, "oppoſe you with words, but with actions."

I can approve of neither of theſe alterations. The reaſon, that induced me to read την τιμην, is this; our author has told us that οι πλουσιωτατοι, και φιλοτιμοτατοι applauded Marcius: Will it not, then, be a very natural antitheſis, if we ſay that οἱ την τιμην και τον πλουτον ου περα του δεοντος εκτετιμηκοτες rejected his advice?

XXVI.

XXVI. The ſenate being, now, in a flame, and the tribunes, finding that thoſe, who deſired to take away the power granted to the people, were ſuperior in number to the ſenators, who adviſed to adhere to the agreement, ran out of the ſenate, crying out, and calling upon the gods, who were witneſſes to their oaths: After which, they aſſembled the people; and, having acquainted them with the ſpeech made by Marcius in the ſenate, they ſummoned him to make his defence. But he, paying no regard to them, and repulſing the officers, by whom he was ſummoned, with abuſive words, the tribunes grew the more inraged; and, taking with them the ediles, and many other citizens, ran to ſeize him. Marcius happened to be, yet, ſtanding before the ſenate houſe, attended by a great number of the patricians, and by the reſt of his faction. When the tribunes ſaw him, they ordered the ediles to apprehend him; and, if he refuſed to follow them, to bring him away by force. The ediles, at that time, were Lucius Junius Brutus, and Spurius Icilius Ruga: Theſe advanced with a deſign to ſeize him. On the other ſide, the patricians, looking upon it as an inſufferable thing, that any one of their body ſhould be, forcibly, carried away by the tribunes, before he was tried, placed themſelves before Marcius; and, ſtriking all, who approached him, drove them away. The news of this action being ſpread through the whole city, all ran out of their houſes; the magiſtrates, and the men of fortune, with a deſign to aſſiſt the plebeians in protecting Marcius, and to recover the ancient form of government; and thoſe of low con-

condition, and narrow circumſtances, with a view to aſſiſt the tribunes, and to obey their orders; and that modeſty, which had, hitherto, withheld them from daring to commit any exceſſes againſt one another, was, then, baniſhed: However, their conteſt did not, that day, break out into any irreparable miſchief; but, in deference to the advice, and exhortations of the conſuls, they deferred the deciſion of it to the day after.

XXVII. The next day, the tribunes came firſt to the forum; and, aſſembling the people, they, ſucceſſively, made many invectives againſt the patricians, as againſt men, who had violated their treaties, and tranſgreſſed the oaths, by which they had promiſed the people to forget all, that was paſſed; and, to ſhew that they were not, ſincerely, reconciled to the plebeians, they alledged the ſcarcity of corn, which they had contrived, the two colonies they had ſent out, and many other things they had practiſed with a view to leſſen the number of the people: After that, they inveighed, violently, againſt Marcius, repeating the words he had ſpoken in the ſenate, and told them that, when he was ſummoned to make his defence before the people, he had, not only, not vouchſafed to come, but had, alſo, with blows, driven away the ediles, who were ſent to him. They called upon the ſenators of the greateſt dignity to give their teſtimony of what paſſed in the ſenate; and, to prove the inſult offered to the ediles, upon all the plebeians, who were, then, preſent in the forum. Having ſaid this, they gave leave to the patricians to make their defence, if they thought proper; and, for that purpoſe, kept the people together, till

till the ſenate ſhould be diſmiſſed: For it happened that the ſenate were, at that time, conſulting upon this very affair, and conſidering whether they ſhould clear themſelves to the people of the crimes they were accuſed of, or remain quiet: And the majority inclining to humane, rather than to imperious, meaſures, the conſuls diſmiſſed the ſenate, and came to the forum, with a deſign both to juſtify the patricians in regard to the accuſations brought againſt their whole order, and to intreat the people not to come to any ſevere reſolution againſt Marcius: And Minucius, the ſenior conſul, ſpoke in the following manner:

XXVIII. "Our defence, in relation to the ſcarcity of "corn, is very ſhort, citizens, and we ſhall call no other "witneſſes to prove the truth of what we alledge, than "yourſelves: For, even, you yourſelves know that the land "bore no corn, becauſe it was not ſown; and you have "no occaſion to be informed by others, from what cauſe "the ſeveral devaſtatations of the country have proceeded, "and by what means, at laſt, the greateſt, and moſt fruitful "part of the land came to want all ſorts of grain, ſlaves, "and cattle; partly, becauſe it was laid waſte by the enemy, "and partly, becauſe it is incapable of ſupplying you, who "are ſo numerous, and have no other reſource: So that, "concluding the famine was not occaſioned by what your "demagogues charge us with, but by what you yourſelves "are ſenſible of, ceaſe to attribute this misfortune to our "contrivance, and to be angry with us, when we do you "no injury. As to the colonies, there was a neceſſity for

" ſending them out, ſince it was the unanimous opinion of
" you all to garriſon places, that will be of uſe in time of war:
" And, being ſent, when the occaſion was ſo very urging,
" they have proved of great advantage both to thoſe, who
" went out, and to you, who remain at home: For the
" former will, by this means, enjoy there a greater plenty of
" all neceſſaries, and thoſe, who remain here, will ſuffer the
" leſs from the ſcarcity of proviſions. And the equality of
" fortune, to which we patricians ſubmitted like you, in
" ſending out the colony by lot, deſerves no cenſure."

XXIX. " What, therefore, can provoke the demagogues
" to find fault with us for thoſe things, in which both our
" opinions, and our fortunes are the ſame, whether they are
" hurtful, as they ſay, or advantageous, as we think: As to
" the accuſations, with which they charge us, in relation to
" what paſſed in the laſt aſſembly of the ſenate, that we did
" not think fit to moderate the price of corn; that we were
" forming deſigns to aboliſh the tribunitian power; that
" we, ſtill, reſented your ſeceſſion, and were deſirous, by
" every method, to diſtreſs the plebeians; theſe, and all
" ſuch accuſations we ſhall, ſoon, clear ourſelves of by our
" actions; by hurting you in no degree; by confirming, even
" now, the tribunitian power upon the ſame terms we, then,
" granted it to you, and by ſelling the corn at the price you
" ſhall all of you appoint. Have patience therefore; and,
" if all theſe things are not performed, then accuſe us. But,
" if you will, carefully, examine our conteſts, you will find
" that we patricians have greater reaſon to accuſe the people,
" than

" than you to complain of the ſenate: For you wrong us,
" citizens; and be not offended at being told of it; ſince,
" without waiting the event of our counſels, you think fit to
" find fault with them already. But, who knows not that
" it is the eaſieſt of all things for a man to confound, and
" baniſh harmony from a city, by charging others with de-
" ſigns, of which the proof being in ſuſpence, and not yet
" manifeſt, is no guard to the accuſed againſt ſuffering ſome
" prejudice, but rather a pretence to the accuſer to juſtify
" his accuſation? And, not only, your leaders deſerve cenſure
" for accuſing, and calumniating the ſenate, but you your-
" ſelves deſerve it no leſs for giving credit to them, and
" reſenting injuries, before you feel them: For, if the in-
" juries you were afraid of were future, your reſentment
" ought to have been future alſo: Whereas, it, now, ap-
" pears that you have acted with greater haſte, than prudence,
" and placed your ſafety in your malice.

XXX. " Concerning the crimes, with which the tri-
" bunes have charged the ſenate in general, I think what I
" have ſaid ſufficient. But, ſince they calumniate every one
" of us, in particular, for what we ſaid there, and com-
" plain that we divide the city, and are, now, endeavour-
" ing to put to death, or baniſh, Caius Marcius, a man,
" who loves his country, and who ſpoke of the public affairs
" with freedom, I deſign to treat this ſubject, alſo, with all
" the regard, that is due to juſtice; and do you conſider
" if what I ſhall ſay is founded on moderation, and truth.
" When you were treating of your reconciliation with the

" ſenate, citizens, you thought it enough for you to be diſ-
" charged of your debts; and you deſired leave to chuſe ma-
" giſtrates out of your own body, to protect the poor from
" oppreſſion: Both theſe things you obtained, for which you
" thought yourſelves under great obligations to us: But, to
" aboliſh the conſular power, to render ineffectual the authority
" of the ſenate in preſiding over the commonwealth, or to ſub-
" vert the eſtabliſhed government, you neither, then, deſired,
" nor will you, ever, deſire: What, therefore, provokes you
" to attempt, now, to confound all theſe things? Or, by
" what right do you ſeek to deprive us of our honors?
" For, if you deter the ſenators from ſpeaking their ſenti-
" ments with freedom, what moderation is to be expected
" from the language of your leaders? Or, by what law, will
" they pretend to puniſh any of the patricians with death,
" or baniſhment? For, neither the old laws, nor the agree-
" ments, lately, made with the ſenate, give you this power.
" But, to tranſgreſs the bounds preſcribed by the laws, and
" to render violence ſuperior to juſtice, is, no longer, popu-
" lar, but, if you deſire to hear the truth, tyrannical. For
" my part, I ſhould adviſe you neither to give up any one
" of the advantages you have obtained from the ſenate, nor
" to claim any you did not deſire, when you were treating
" of a reconcilation with them.

XXXI. " But, in order to make it ſtill, more plainly,
" appear to you that your demagogues deſire a thing incon-
" ſiſtent both with moderation, and juſtice, and that their
" aims are illegal and impracticable, transfer this queſtion

" from

" from the ſenate to yourſelves, and conſider it in this light:
" Imagine the ſenators accuſed your magiſtrates of uſing,
" in your aſſembly, malicious expreſſions againſt the ſenate,
" of endeavouring to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed ariſtocracy,
" and of raiſing a ſedition in the city (all which they may
" aſſert with truth, for they are guilty of theſe things) and,
" which is the moſt heinous crime of all, that they aim at
" a greater power, than was granted to them, in attempting
" to put one of our order to death without a trial: And,
" then imagine the ſenate reſolved that the perſons, guilty
" of theſe crimes, ſhould be put to death with impunity:
" How would you bear this arrogance of the ſenate? And
" what would you ſay? Would you not be out of patience,
" and complain you were, ſeverely, treated, if any one ſhould
" deprive you of the freedom of ſpeech, and of your liberty,
" by threatening with the ſevereſt puniſhment thoſe, who
" ſpoke, freely, in favor of the people? This you muſt
" grant. And, do you think it reaſonable that others ſhould
" bear what you yourſelves would not ſubmit to? Do theſe
" ſentiments of yours become citizens, and flow from mo-
" deration? Do you not, by inſiſting on ſuch things, juſtify
" the accuſations you are charged with, and ſhew that thoſe,
" who adviſe us not to ſuffer your lawleſs domination to
" gain new ſtrength, conſult the good of the common-
" wealth? For my part, I think ſo. But, if you deſire to
" confute theſe accuſations by a contrary behaviour, follow
" my advice, moderate your ſentiments, and bear the ſpeech,
" with which you are offended, like citizens, and with
" temper.

" temper. And, if you do this, you will gain a double ad-
" vantage; you will appear good men, and your enemies
" will repent.

XXXII. " Having, now, juſtified ourſelves in a convincing
" manner, as we think, we adviſe you to run into no exceſs;
" we have no deſign to reproach you with the benefits,
" and favors, we have conferred on you, as well formerly,
" as at your return, but only to moderate your anger;
" which benefits we are willing to forget, but you ought to
" remember. However, we are under a neceſſity of men-
" tioning them at this time, when we deſire that, in return
" for the many great favors we have beſtowed upon you at
" your requeſt, you will grant us this, neither to put to
" death, nor baniſh a man, who loves his country, and
" excels all others in the art of war: For it will be no ſmall
" loſs to us, as you well know, citizens, if we deprive the
" commonwealth of ſuch valor. You ought, therefore,
" particularly on his account, to relent, when you call to
" mind how many of you he has ſaved in the wars; and,
" inſtead of retaining any reſentment for his unguarded
" words, to remember his glorious actions: For his words
" have done you no miſchief; but his actions have done you
" great ſervice: However, if you are irreconcilable to this
" man, at the interceſſion of us at leaſt, and of the ſenate,
" forgive him; be, at laſt, ſincerely reconciled to us, and
" reſtore unanimity to the commonwealth: Whereas, if
" you yield not to our perſuaſions, be aſſured that, on our
" part, we ſhall not yield to your violence; but this trial of

" the

" the people's affection will prove to all the ſource either of " a ſincere friendſhip, and of ſtill greater kindneſs, or of civil " war, and irreparable evils."

XXXIII. After Minucius had ſpoken in this manner, the tribunes, ſeeing the people moved with the moderation of his ſpeech, and the humanity of his promiſes, were offended, and diſpleaſed; particularly, Caius Sicinnius Bellutus, the ſame perſon, who had prevailed upon the poor to ſecede from the patricians, and been appointed by them to be their general while they were in arms; a man, the moſt inveterate againſt the ariſtocracy, and, for that reaſon, raiſed by the citizens to dignity; and, being inveſted with the tribunitian power for the ſecond time, he, leaſt of all the demagogues, thought it his intereſt that the commonwealth ſhould be united, and reſtored to its former ſtate: For he was ſo far from expecting to enjoy the ſame honors, and power under an ariſtocracy, as he was a bad man in his nature, obſcurely educated, and had, never, diſtinguiſhed himſelf either in war, or in peace, that he knew he ſhould, even, be expoſed to the greateſt danger for having occaſioned the ſedition, and many other evils to the commonwealth. After he had conſidered, therefore, what he was to ſay, and do, and conſulted with his collegues, and they concurred with him, he roſe up; and, having, ſhortly, lamented the misfortunes of the people, he commended the conſuls for vouchſafing to give them an account of their actions, without deſpiſing their low condition; and, likewiſe, ſaid he returned thanks to the patricians for taking ſome care, at laſt, of the preſervation

of

of the poor; and that he ſhould, ſtill more willingly, join with all his fellow-citizens in publiſhing this, if they would confirm their words by their actions.

XXXIV. Having ſaid this, and thereby ſeemed moderate in his [18] diſpoſition, and inclining to an accommodation, he turned to Marcius, who ſtood near the conſuls, and ſaid; "And you, valiant man, why do you not clear yourſelf to "your fellow-citizens, of what you ſaid in the ſenate? "Rather, why do you not make ſupplication to them, and "deprecate their anger, to the end they may puniſh you "with leſs rigor? For I would not adviſe you to deny the "fact, as ſo many are acquainted with it, or to have re- "courſe to ſhameleſs apologies, as you are Marcius, and "have a ſpirit above That of a private man: Unleſs you "think that it becomes the conſuls, and the patricians, to "intercede for you to the people, but that it does not be- "come you to do the ſame thing for yourſelf." This he ſaid, well knowing that a man of his great ſpirit would never ſubmit to be his own accuſer, and to deprecate his puniſhment, as if he had tranſgreſſed; or, contrary to his character, have recourſe to lamentations, and intreaties; but, that he would either not vouchſafe to make any defence at all, or, preſerving his inbred haughtineſs, make no ſubmiſſions to the people, nor ſpeak to them with moderation: Which happened accordingly: For there being a general ſilence, and almoſt all the plebeians, earneſtly, deſiring to acquit him,

18. Ὀξύν. See the thirteenth annotation on this book. M. *** has, again, miſtaken the ſenſe of this word, and ſaid, *plus modéré dans ſa colére.*

if

if he had availed himſelf of the preſent opportunity, he ſpoke to them in ſo haughty a manner, and ſhewed ſo great a contempt of them, that he did not deny a ſingle thing he had ſaid in the ſenate againſt the people; nor, as if he had repented of what he had ſaid, endeavour to raiſe their compaſſion, or deprecate their anger. He would not, even, allow them to be his judges in any caſe, as having no lawful authority: But, if any one thought fit to accuſe him before the conſuls, or to require an account either of his words, or his actions in a place appointed by law, he was ready to ſubmit to his trial. He ſaid that he preſented himſelf to the people, ſince they themſelves had ſummoned him, with a deſign, not only, to reprimand them for the illegal proceedings, and exceſſes they had been guilty of, as well during their revolt, as after their return; but, alſo, to adviſe them, now at leaſt, to put a ſtop to, and reſtrain, their unwarrantable deſires. After which, he inveighed againſt them all with great ſeverity, and boldneſs; and, particularly, againſt the tribunes. In his ſpeech, there was no prudent reſpect, becoming a citizen, who informs the people; no modeſt fear, oppoſing itſelf to the reſentment of the powerful; ſuch as might be expected from a private perſon under a general diſpleaſure; but the ungovernable fury of an enemy, inſulting the ſubdued with impunity, and a ſevere contempt of their ſufferings.

XXXV. For theſe reaſons, while he was yet ſpeaking, there aroſe a great tumult, the people, frequently, changing their opinion, as it happens in aſſemblies of different

ſentiments, and different inclinations; ſome being pleaſed with his ſpeech, and others offended at it. And, when he had done ſpeaking, the clamor, and tumult encreaſed: For the patricians, calling him the braveſt of men, commended him for his liberty of ſpeech, and ſaid he was the only free man of their whole number, who neither feared the attacks of a numerous enemy, nor flattered the inſolent, and illegal attempts of his fellow-citizens. On the other ſide, the plebeians, impatient of his reproaches, called him haughty and ſevere, and the greateſt of all their enemies: And ſome of them were, already, diſpoſed to have put him to death by an act of violence, which they could, eaſily, have accompliſhed. In this they were aſſiſted, and abetted by the demagogues; and Sicinnius, in particular, gave a looſe to their paſſion. At laſt, therefore, after he had uſed many invectives againſt him, and inflamed the minds of the plebeians by miniſtring, largely, to their fury, he cloſed his accuſation with ſaying, "That the college of the tribunes "condemned him to death for inſulting the ediles, whom "he had, the day before, driven away with blows, when "they were ordered by the tribunes to bring him before "them: For they alledged that the inſult, committed by "him againſt their miniſters, could be levelled at no "other perſons, but at thoſe, who had given thoſe "orders." Having ſaid this, he commanded him to be carried to the hill, that overlooks the forum: This is an exceeding high precipice, from whence they uſed to throw down thoſe, who were condemned to die. The ediles, there-

therefore, advanced in order to lay hold of him; but the patricians, crying out with a loud voice, ruſhed upon them in a body: Upon which, the plebeians fell upon the patricians; and great indecency of action, and mutual inſults paſſed between them, both ſides puſhing, and laying hold of one another. However, the authors of this tumult were compelled to be quiet, and to act with more temper by the conſuls, who forced their way into the midſt of the contending parties, and ordered their lictors to quell the multitude: So great a reſpect did the men of thoſe times bear to this magiſtracy, and ſo much did they honour the royal dignity. Upon which, Sicinnius, being perplexed, and diſturbed, was afraid of obliging his adverſaries to repel force with force; but diſdained to deſiſt from his attempt, after he had, once, ingaged in it; and, finding himſelf unable to purſue his reſolution, he conſidered, long, what he had to do.

XXXVI. Lucius Junius Brutus, that popular orator, who had contrived the terms of the accommodation, a man of great ſagacity in every thing, but, particularly, in finding expedients in difficulties, ſeeing him in this perplexity, came to him; and, taking him aſide, adviſed him not to perſiſt in a warm, and illegal undertaking, when he ſaw, not only, the whole body of the patricians in a flame, and ready, if the conſuls called upon them, to run to arms, but, alſo, that part of the people, which was moſt able to defend their cauſe, heſitating, and not, willingly, receiving his propoſal to put the moſt illuſtrious perſon of the city to death, and that without

a trial. He, therefore, adviſed him to yield for the preſent, and not to ingage with the conſuls, leſt he ſhould be the cauſe of ſome greater miſchief; but to bring the man to a trial upon a day appointed; to take the votes of the citizens in their tribes, and to act purſuant to the determination of the majority; ſaying that his preſent attempt was tyrannical and violent, tending to conſtitute the ſame perſon both his accuſer, and judge, and, alſo, the ordainer of the degree of his puniſhment: But that it was agreeable to the ſpirit of all civil government, that a criminal ſhould have liberty to make his defence according to the laws, and ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as the majority of his judges ſhould determine. Sicinnius yielded to theſe arguments, finding he could take no better reſolution; and, preſenting himſelf to the people, ſaid, "You ſee, citizens, the eagerneſs of the patricians for "murder, and violence, which induces them to prefer one "man, who wrongs the whole commonwealth, to you all. "However, we ought not to reſemble them, and run head-"long to our ruin, either in attacking them, or in defend-"ing ourſelves from their attacks. But, ſince ſome people "make uſe of a ſpecious pretence, and ſcreen him from "puniſhment by ſupporting the law, which allows no "citizen to be put to death without a trial, let us grant "them the benefit of this law, though we ourſelves have "not been treated by them either in a legal, or juſt manner; "and make it appear that we chuſe to overcome our fellow-"citizens, who injure us, in lenity, rather than in violence. "Do you, therefore, depart, and wait for the approaching "time.

" time. In the mean while, we will prepare every thing " that is neceſſary; and, having appointed a day for Marcius " to make his defence, we will manage the trial, and you " ſhall be his judges. And, when you are, legally, poſſeſſed " of the right of giving your votes, inflict ſuch puniſhment " on him, as you ſhall find he deſerves. So much for this. " As to the ſale, and diſtribution of the corn, if theſe men, " and the ſenate do not take ſome care that this affair be " ordered in the moſt equitable manner, we ſhall take That " care upon ourſelves." Having ſaid this, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

XXXVII. The conſuls, preſently, aſſembled the ſenate, and conſidered with them, at leiſure, by what means the preſent diſturbance might be appeaſed: And the firſt reſolution they came to, was to court the plebeians, by ſelling the proviſions to them at a very cheap, and low price: In the next place, to endeavour to prevail upon their leaders to deſiſt from their purpoſe in favor of the ſenate, and not to bring Marcius to his trial; and, if they could not prevail, to put it off to the longeſt time poſſible, till the reſentment of the people ſhould grow languid. Having come to theſe reſolutions, they laid their decree, relating to the proviſions, before the people, by whom it was confirmed with a general applauſe. This was the ſubſtance of the decree: " That " the prices of ſuch proviſions, as are neceſſary for the daily " ſupport of the people, be the loweſt they were, ever, " at before the civil commotion." As to their application to the tribunes in favor of Marcius, the effect of it was this:

They

They could not, by any intreaties, prevail upon them to remit him abſolutely: However, they obtained of them a delay for as long a time as they deſired. And they themſelves contrived another delay, by laying hold on the following occaſion: It happened that the embaſſadors, ſent from Sicily by the king, as they were returning home by ſea after landing the preſent of corn he had given to the people, were taken by ſome pirates, ſent out by the Antiates, while they lay at anchor not far from their ports, who ordered their ſhips to be brought in; and, not only, made the ſame advantage of their effects, as if they had belonged to an enemy, but, alſo, ſecured their perſons. The conſuls, being informed of this, reſolved to march againſt the Antiates; ſince, upon ſending embaſſadors to them, they refuſed to do them any ſort of juſtice: And, having raiſed an army conſiſting of all their youth, and procured a decree of the ſenate for the ſuſpenſion of all private, and public ſuits, as long as they ſhould continue in arms, they both took the field. However, this war did not laſt near ſo long, as they expected: For the Antiates, hearing the Romans were marching againſt them with all their forces, made not the leaſt reſiſtance; but, having recourſe to prayers, and intreaties, they reſtored both the perſons of the Sicilian embaſſadors, whom they had taken, and their effects alſo: So that, the Romans were under a neceſſity of returning to the city.

XXXVIII. The army being diſbanded, Sicinnius, the tribune, aſſembled the people, and acquainted them with the day he had appointed for the trial of Marcius; at the ſame time,

time, he exhorted the citizens, who lived at Rome, to come every one, and take cognizance of this cauſe; and thoſe alſo, who reſided in the country, to leave their buſineſs, and attend that day, ſince their liberty, and the preſervation of the whole commonwealth depended upon their votes. He ſummoned Marcius, alſo, to appear, and make his defence, aſſuring him that he ſhould be deprived of no advantage the law allowed him. In the mean time, the conſuls, after they had conſulted the ſenate, reſolved not to ſuffer the people to poſſeſs themſelves of ſo great a power. They had found out a juſt, and legal method of oppoſition, by which they expected to defeat all the deſigns of their adverſaries. After this, they invited the leaders of the people to a conference, at which their friends aſſiſted, when Minucius ſpoke as follows: "It is our opinion, tribunes, "that we ought to uſe all our endeavours to baniſh ſedition "from the city, and not to contend with the people in any "thing; particularly, when we ſee you fly from violent "methods, to Thoſe, that are founded on juſtice, and rea-"ſon. But, however commendable we think your reſolu-"tions, we are of opinion that the ſenate ought to lead the "way by making a previous order, as it has, always, been "practiſed among us: For, you yourſelves can teſtify that, "from the time our anceſtors founded this city, the ſenate "have, always, been poſſeſſed of this privilege, and [19] that the

19. Και ȣθεν πωποτε ὁ δημος ὁ τι μη προβȣλευσειεν ἡ βȣλη, ȣτε επεκρινεν, ȣτε επεψηφισεν. This ſeems, at firſt ſight, to contradict what our [f] author has, before, told us, viz. that the reſolutions of the people were, originally,

[f] B. ii. c. 14.

"people

" people never determined, nor voted any thing without a
" previous order of the ſenate, not only now, but, even,
" under the kings, who laid before the people the reſolu-
" tions of the ſenate, and received their concurrence. Do
" not, therefore, deprive us of this right, nor aboliſh this

laid before the ſenate for their approbation. In order to reconcile theſe two aſſertions, I ſhall not have recourſe to a grammatical criticiſm upon the words επεκρινεν, and επεψηφισεν, which, in reality, ſignify a confirmatory judgement: For this would be to get over the difficulty by making our author talk nonſenſe; ſince, if a previous order of the ſenate was not paſſed, it would be impoſſible for the people to confirm that order. The only way I can think of to ſolve the difficulty is this: I look upon it that the people, in their curiata, and centuriata comitia, could not take cognizance of any thing, till it was laid before them by the magiſtrates, as the conſuls, or the tribunes of the people, after their inſtitution: Neither could the magiſtrates lay any thing, regularly, before the people, without a previous order of the ſenate, ſignified by theſe words, *ferrent ad plebem.* This previous order I take to be what the Greek writers call προβουλευμα, which was not ſo much a declaration of the ſenſe of the ſenate upon the queſtion, as an impowering the people to take cognizance of it: And, after the people had declared their approbation of the matter propoſed to them, their reſolution was carried up to the ſenate for their concurrence; which I think they might, legally, refuſe, if they thought fit: My reaſon for it is, that, in the year of Rome 388, the ſenate, and people, after a great conteſt, entered into a kind of compromiſe, the terms of which were, that two curule ediles ſhould be choſen among the former, and that, in return, the ſenate ſhould confirm all the reſolutions the people ſhould, that year, paſs in their comitia: For ſo I underſtand theſe words of [g] Livy, *Petres auctores omnibus ejus anni comitiis fierent:* And that they are to be taken in this ſenſe, I think, [h] I have, already, proved. If, therefore, the ſenate, in conſideration of an advantage to themſelves, agreed to ratify all the reſolutions of the people for that year, it is plain they had a power of rejecting them before that time, and after the expiration of it. However, this negative voice of the ſenate was ſubject to reſtrictions; and the people had, conſtitutionally, a ſovereign power in three very eſſential [i] points, in which the ſenate could not controll them: Theſe were the election of magiſtrates, the enacting, or repealing laws, and the declaring war, or making peace. Upon theſe occaſions, they ſpoke with an authority, that became their ſovereign power; *Volumus, et jubemus.*

[g] B. vi. c. 42. [h] See the 122d annotation on the ſecond book. [i] Dionyſius, B. iv. c. 20.

" ancient,

" ancient, and well grounded cuſtom; but inform the " ſenate that you deſire a juſt, and reaſonable thing; and, " whatever they ſhall reſolve upon, do you refer That to " the determination of the people."

XXXIX. While the conſuls were ſaying this, Sicinnius grew impatient at their diſcourſe, and would leave nothing to the deciſion of the ſenate: But his collegues, purſuant to the advice of Lucius, conſented that the ſenate ſhould make the previous order, after they themſelves had made a juſt requeſt, which the conſuls could not deny: For they deſired that the ſenators would allow liberty of ſpeech as well to thoſe, who were concerned for the people, as to thoſe, who ſupported the ſame intereſt, or deſired to oppoſe it; and that, after they had heard all parties, they would, then, decree what they thought juſt and advantageous to the public: That the ſenators ſhould all give their opinions, as in a court of juſtice, after taking the oath appointed by law; and the queſtion be determined by a majority of votes. The tribunes having conſented that the ſenate ſhould make the previous order, as the conſuls deſired, the conference ended. The next day, the ſenate met, when the conſuls acquainted them with the terms of the agreement they had made with the tribunes, and called upon the latter to offer what they had to ſay. Upon which, Lucius, who had conſented that the ſenate ſhould make the previous order, preſented himſelf, and ſpoke in the following manner.

XL. " You are not ignorant, fathers, of the conſequence " of our application to you, for which, as well as for " yielding to your previous order, we ſhall be accuſed be- " fore the people upon ſuch grounds, as we are no ſtrangers " to, by a perſon, who is poſſeſſed of the ſame power with " ourſelves; and who did not think that we ought to aſk " That of you, which the law gives us, or to receive a " right, as a favor. And, if we are tried for this, we are " ſenſible we ſhall run no ſmall hazard, but be condemned " as deſerters, and traitors, and ſuffer the worſt of puniſh- " ments. But, though ſenſible of theſe things, we have re- " ſolved to apply to you, in confidence of our right, and of " the oaths, under the obligation of which you will deliver " your opinions. We are, indeed, inconſiderable men to " treat of ſuch important ſubjects, and of much leſs conſe- " quence than they require; but the ſubjects we ſhall treat " of, are not inconſiderable. Attend, therefore, to theſe; " and, if they ſhall appear juſt and advantageous to the " public (and I may add, even, neceſſary) allow us, volun- " tarily, to obtain them.

XLI. " I ſhall firſt ſpeak to the point of right. After " you had expelled the kings by our aſſiſtance, fathers, and " ſettled our preſent conſtitution, which we find no fault " with, you obſerved that the plebeians had, always, the " diſadvantage in their ſuits, whenever they had any dif- " ference with the patricians, which, frequently, happened; " and paſſed a law, by the advice of Publius Valerius, one of " the conſuls, by which it was made lawful for the plebeians,

" when

when oppreſſed by the patricians, to appeal to the people: "And, by the means of this law, more than by any other "meaſure, you both preſerved the union of the common-"wealth, and repulſed the attacks of the kings. It is in virtue "of this law, that we cite Caius Marcius to appear before "the people, on account of the injuſtice, and oppreſſion we "ſay he has been guilty of towards them all, and call upon "him to make his defence before them. And, in this caſe, "a previous order of the ſenate is not neceſſary: For, with "regard to thoſe things, which are left at large by the laws, "you have a right to make a previous order, and the people "to confirm it: But, when there is an inviolable law, though "you ſhould make no previous order, that law muſt be "obſerved: For it cannot be ſaid that, to private perſons, "when aggrieved by any judgement, this appeal to the people "is allowed, but not to their tribunes. Supported, there-"fore, by this conceſſion of the law; and, for that reaſon, "expoſed to the danger of ſubmitting to your determina-"tion, we come before you. Nor leſs ſupported are we by "this unwritten, and unenacted law of nature, when we "requeſt of you, fathers, that the condition of the people "may be neither better, nor worſe than your own, at leaſt "in point of right; ſince they have aſſiſted you in carrying "on many conſiderable wars; have ſhewn the greateſt zeal "in putting an end to thoſe wars, and have had no ſmall "ſhare in enabling the commonwealth to receive laws from "none, but to give laws to others. Now, the moſt effectual "means you can take, fathers, to put us in no worſe a con-

" dition than yourſelves in point of right, will be, to prevent
" the illegal attempts of men againſt our perſons, and liberties,
" by placing before their eyes the terror of a condemnation.
" We look upon it as our duty to confer magiſtracies, pre-
" cedence, and honors upon thoſe among you, who are
" diſtinguiſhed by their virtue; but, at the ſame time, we
" think it reaſonable that to ſuffer no injury, and to receive
" juſtice adequate to the wrong ſuſtained, ſhould be equal
" and common to all thoſe, who live under the ſame go-
" vernment. As, therefore, we give up to you the things,
" that are illuſtrious and great, ſo we mean not to depart
" from Thoſe, that are equal and common. This is enough
" concerning the point of right, though many other argu-
" ments might be uſed to ſupport it.

XLII. " Suffer us, now, to ſhew you, in few words, that
" the demands of the people will be, even, advantageous to
" the public: For, if any one ſhould aſk you what you look
" upon to be the greateſt miſchief a commonwealth can
" labour under, and the cauſe of the ſwifteſt of all deſtructions,
" would you not ſay it is diſcord? I own, I think ſo. Who
" is there among you, then, ſo weak, ſo perverſe, and ſo
" immoderate an enemy to equality, as not to know, that,
" if the people are allowed to exerciſe their juriſdiction in
" cauſes, of which the law gives them cognizance, we ſhall
" live in harmony? But, if you ſhould determine otherwiſe,
" and reſolve to deprive us of our liberty (for you will,
" really, deprive us of liberty, if you deprive us of juſtice,
" and law) you will drive us, again, into ſedition, and a
" civil

civil war: For, if juſtice, and law are baniſhed from a "commonwealth, ſedition, and war will enter there. It is "no wonder, indeed, if thoſe, who have never experienced "the calamities of a civil war, are neither affected with paſt "misfortunes, nor take early precautions to prevent the "future: But, to thoſe, who, like you, when expoſed to "the ſmalleſt dangers, thought themſelves happy to find "relief by ſeaſonable conceſſions, what ſpecious, or reaſon-"able excuſe is left, if they fall, again, under the ſame miſ-"fortunes? Who is there, who would not accuſe you of "great folly, and madneſs, when he conſiders that, very "lately, you ſubmitted to many things againſt your incli-"nation, ſome of which, poſſibly, were neither very hon-"ourable, nor very advantageous, in order to appeaſe a "ſedition of the people; and now, when neither your "private fortunes, your reputation, nor any other public "intereſt is, in any degree, concerned, you reſolve to ex-"aſperate the plebeians again, in order to oblige their "enemies? This you will not do, if you are wiſe. But I "would, willingly, aſk you, what motive, then, induced "you to conſent to our return upon the terms we deſired: "Were you influenced by your foreſight of what was moſt "eligible, or by your ſubmiſſion to what was moſt neceſſary? "For, if you thought thoſe conceſſions to be of the greateſt "advantage to the commonwealth at that time, why do "you not adhere to them at preſent? And, if they were "neceſſary, and every other meaſure impracticable, or if "they flowed from true reaſoning directed to the public "good,

" good, why do you complain of having made them?
" Poſſibly you ought not to have granted them, at firſt, if
" you could have avoided it; but, ſince you have granted
" them, you ought, no longer, to find fault with your own
" conceſſions.

XLIII. " For my part, fathers, I think you acted with
" the greateſt prudence in regard to the accommodation,
" to which you are obliged to yield, in order to obſerve the
" terms of it: for you have given us the gods as ſureties for
" the performance of the agreement, by loading with many
" grievous imprecations both thoſe, who ſhould violate any
" part of it, and their poſterity for ever. But I do not
" think it neceſſary to trouble you with ſaying any more in
" order to convince you that our demands are juſt in them-
" ſelves, and advantageous to you; and ſuch as, when you
" conſider your oaths, you will all be conſcious that you
" are under the greateſt neceſſity of conſenting to. Learn
" now, fathers, or rather call to mind, the grievous outrages
" we have ſuffered from this man, which have made it a
" point of no ſmall importance to us not to be either com-
" pelled by fear, or deluded by artifice, to relinquiſh this
" conteſt, which nothing but the greateſt neceſſity could
" have prevailed upon us to undertake: For I ſhall advance
" nothing you are not all acquainted with; and I beg, at
" the ſame time, that you will apply what I ſay to your-
" ſelves. If any of our plebians had attempted to ſay, or
" do ſuch things againſt your order in an aſſembly of the
" people, as Marcius has dared to advance to this place,
" what

"what reſentment would you have been fired with againſt
"him?

XLIV. "For Marcius was the firſt man among you, who
"endeavoured to diſſolve the unalterable, and almoſt ada-
"mantine bonds of our agreement, entered into not quite
"four years ſince, which neither you, who ſwore to the ob-
"ſervance of it, nor your poſterity can violate without a
"crime, as long as this city ſhall be inhabited: This agree-
"ment he did not ſeek, privately, to undermine, or cover
"his deſign by the ſecreſy of the place, but, openly, de-
"clared his opinion here, in the hearing of you all, that you
"ought, no longer, to allow us the exerciſe of the tribuni-
"tian power, but to aboliſh the firſt, and only guardian
"of our liberty, in confidence of which we conſented to
"the accommodation: Neither did his preſumption ſtop
"here; but, traducing the liberty of the poor with the
"name of inſolence, and equality with That of tyranny, he
"adviſed you to deprive us of both. Call to mind, fathers,
"the moſt wicked of all his ſuggeſtions at that time, when
"he declared this to be the proper ſeaſon for you to revive
"your reſentment againſt the plebeians for their former offen-
"ces; and adviſed you, while they were diſtreſſed for want
"of money, and had, long, been ſtreightened in their ne-
"ceſſary ſubſiſtence, to leave the whole to him, and to
"find means that the ſame ſcarcity might continue: For
"it was not to be expected, he ſaid, that, being poor, and
"obliged to pay an exceſſive price for a ſmall quantity of
"corn, we could, long, hold out; but that ſome of us

"would

" would leave the city, and thoſe who ſtaid, be deſtroyed
" by the moſt miſerable of all deaths. But he was ſo infa-
" tuated, and deprived of his reaſon in giving you this ad-
" vice, as not to be able to ſee even this, among many other
" miſchiefs, of which the advice he gave the ſenate to break
" through the accommodation, was productive, that ſuch a
" number of poor, when deprived of neceſſary ſubſiſtence,
" would be compelled to fall upon the authors of their
" calamity, without diſtinguiſhing their friends. So that,
" if you had been ſo mad, as to purſue his advice, it muſt,
" infallibly, have ended in this alternative, either the
" whole body of the people muſt have periſhed, or That of
" the patricians been deſtroyed: For we ſhould not have
" ſuffered ourſelves to be baniſhed, or put to death in
" ſo ſlaviſh a manner; but, having called upon the gods,
" and genius's to be witneſſes to our ſufferings, be aſſured,
" we ſhould have filled the forum, and the ſtreets with
" dead bodies; and, having made a lake of civil blood,
" we ſhould, in that condition, have received our deſtined
" fate. Of ſuch impious actions, fathers, was he the pro-
" moter, and ſuch things did he think fit to make the
" ſubject of his harangue.

XLV. " Neither can it be ſaid that the words of Marcius
" tended, indeed, to divide the city, but that his actions
" had no ſuch tendency: For, being ſurrounded with a
" body of men, ready to obey him in any thing, he refuſed
" to appear before our magiſtrates, when called upon, and
" ſtruck our officers, when, by our orders, they endeavoured

" to

" to bring him away; and, at laſt, did not, even, refrain
" from offering violence to our own perſons. The conſe-
" quence of which will be, that, as far as in him lies, we
" ſhall bear the ſpecious name of an inviolable magiſtracy,
" given in ridicule, but perform no part of the functions
" appropriated to that magiſtracy. For how ſhall we give
" relief to others, who complain they are injured, when we
" ourſelves cannot enjoy ſecurity? When, therefore, we,
" who are poor, have been, thus, inſulted by one man, not
" yet a tyrant, but aiming at tyranny; when we have, al-
" ready, ſuffered many outrages; and, if the major part of
" you, fathers, had not prevented it, were near ſuffering
" more, have we not reaſon to reſent this, and to expect
" ſome relief, not without the hope of your eſpouſing our
" reſentment, when we call him to a fair, and legal trial,
" fathers, in which the whole body of the people, in their
" tribes, after every man, who deſires to ſpeak, has been heard,
" will give their ſuffrages on oath? Go thither, Marcius,
" and, what you deſigned to ſay here, ſay it before all your
" fellow-citizens, for your juſtification; alledge that, with
" the beſt intention, you gave the beſt advice to theſe ſe-
" nators; or that, even, your advice, if followed, would
" have been advantageous to the commonwealth; that it is
" inconſiſtent with juſtice that thoſe, who deliver their opinions
" in this place, ſhould give an account of their words; that
" it was not with a premeditated, or a treacherous deſign,
" but, through paſſion, that you offered this abominable
" advice; or fly to any other defence you can: Deſcend,

" unhappy man, from that overbearing, and tyrannical
" haughtineſs, to a popular behaviour; become, at laſt,
" like other men; aſſume the appearance of a perſon, who
" has erred, and deprecates anger; an appearance calculated
" to expreſs humility, and excite compaſſion; ſuch a one,
" as calamities require; and ſeek not your preſervation by
" offering violence to thoſe you have injured; but by
" ſubmitting to their pleaſure. Let the conduct of theſe
" worthy men be an example of moderation to you, which
" if you imitate, your fellow-citizens will have no cauſe to
" complain of you. Though ſupported by ſuch numbers,
" as you ſee here preſent, and adorned with ſo many military,
" and civil accompliſhments, which I could not, eaſily,
" enumerate, though I ſhould take up a great deal of
" time; yet theſe reſpectable, theſe great perſons came to
" no cruel, no haughty reſolutions againſt us, who are in-
" conſiderable, and obſcure men; but they themſelves, even
" firſt, propoſed a treaty, and invited us to an accommo-
" dation, when Fortune had divided us; and conſented to
" ſuch conditions, as we deſired, not to ſuch, as they thought
" moſt advantageous to themſelves; and theſe laſt jealouſies
" we had entertained againſt them on account of the diſtri-
" bution of corn, they took great pains to remove.

XLVI. " I omit other things: But, in favor of yourſelf,
" and, to deprecate the puniſhment due to your madneſs,
" what interceſſions did they not employ with all the ple-
" beians both in their public, and private capacity? Since
" the conſuls, and the ſenate, who have the government of

" ſo

" ſo conſiderable a city, have thought it no diſhonor to
" them, Marcius, to ſubmit to the judgement of the people,
" in relation to what they were charged with, will it be any
" to you to ſubmit to the ſame tribunal? All theſe have
" thought it no diſgrace to intreat the people to acquit you,
" and do you think the ſame thing a diſgrace to yourſelf?
" However, this is not enough for a man of your ſpirit;
" but, as if you had performed ſome great achievement,
" you appear with an exalted mien, and magnify your actions,
" reſolving to abate nothing of your pride; I might add
" your reviling alſo, accuſing, and threatening the people.
" And, do you not reſent his arrogance, fathers, for ſetting
" a greater value upon himſelf alone, than, even, all of you
" ſet upon yourſelves? And yet it is his duty, though you
" ſhould be unanimous in your votes to ingage in a war for
" his ſake, to be ſatisfied with this proof of your benevolence,
" and zeal, and not to accept a private favor at the expence
" of the public; but to ſubmit to make his defence, even
" to be condemned, if that ſhould happen to be his caſe,
" and to ſuffer any puniſhment: For ſuch would be the
" behaviour of a good citizen, and of one, who practiſes virtue
" in his actions, rather than in his words. But, what courſe
" of life, what deſigns does the violence, which this man
" now makes uſe of, diſcover? Does it not diſcover a deſign
" to violate oaths, to break through ſolemn ingagements,
" to abolish treaties, to make war upon the people, to abuſe
" the perſons of magiſtrates, and to refuſe to give an account
" of any one of theſe actions; but, untried, undefended,

" courting no man, fearing no man, and, diſdaining an " equality with any one citizen among ſo many, to walk " about with impunity? Are not theſe the indications of a " tyrannical diſpoſition? They are, in my opinion: And " yet this man is encouraged, and applauded by ſome of " your own order, who are poſſeſſed with an implacable " hatred againſt the plebeians, and cannot ſee that the birth " of this evil threatens the moſt dignified citizens, not leſs " than thoſe of an inferior rank; but imagine that, when " their natural adverſaries are inſlaved, they themſelves ſhall " be ſecure: But this is not ſo in reality, O men of miſtaken " notions! For you may learn from the experience Marcius " exhibits to you, and by time, by foreign, and domeſtic " examples, that tyranny, [20] foſtered againſt the people, is " foſtered againſt the whole commonwealth; at preſent, " indeed, it begins with us; but, after it has gained ſtrength, " it will not ſpare even you."

XLVII. After Lucius had ſpoken in this manner, and the reſt of the tribunes had ſupported him by adding what

20. Μοσχευομενη. I do not think it ſufficient to tranſlate this word; I think it, alſo, neceſſary to explain it. Μοσχος ſignifies *a young plant*; it ſignifies alſo *a young boy*, and *the young of every kind*. When Agamemnon is going to ſet ſail from Aulis to Troy, [k] he ſays to Clytaemneſtra,

Χρη δε σε λαβουσαν τονδε ΜΟΣΧΟΝ νεαγενη
Στειχειν προς οικους.

Here μοσχος ſignifies his ſon Oreſtes, then, very young. If μοσχευομενη is taken in the firſt ſenſe I have given to μοσχος, I own I can ſee no analogy between tyranny, and a young plant; but, if the word is taken in the other ſenſe, the compariſon between encouraging tyranny, and nurſing up, for example, a lion's whelp, will be very natural. I am the more inclined to think that [l] our author had this in his view, becauſe he makes Brutus ſay ſomething very like it, when he ſpeaks of Tarquin's ſons; ἱνα δε μαθητε οἱους σκυλακας ὑμιν ἡ Ταρκυνιου τυραννις ὑποτρεφει.

[k] Eurip. Iphi. in Aul. ỳ. 1623. [l] B. iv. c. 81.

they

they thought he had omitted, and it was time for the ſenators to deliver their opinions, firſt the moſt ancient, and the moſt dignified of the conſular ſenators, being called upon by the conſuls in their cuſtomary order, roſe up; and, after them, thoſe who were inferior to them in both theſe reſpects; and, laſt of all, the youngeſt ſenators, who made no ſpeech (for that would have been looked upon as a want of modeſty in the Romans of thoſe times, and no young man thought himſelf wiſer than thoſe of an advanced age) but aſſented to the opinions delivered by the conſular ſenators. There had been an order that all the ſenators preſent ſhould give their votes upon oath, as in a court of juſtice. Then Appius Claudius, whom I mentioned before, as the greateſt enemy to the plebeians of all the patricians, and who could, never, reliſh the agreement they had entered into with the people, oppoſed the paſſing of the previous order in the following ſpeech.

XLVIII. "I have wiſhed, and, often, prayed to the gods "that I might be miſtaken in the opinion I entertained "concerning the accommodation with the people, when I "thought that the return of the fugitives would be neither "honourable, juſt, nor advantageous to you; and, during "the whole courſe of that tranſaction, whenever any thing "relating to this ſubject was propoſed to our conſideration, "I was the firſt, and, at laſt, the only perſon, after the reſt "had deſerted me, who oppoſed it; and I, alſo, wiſhed "that you, fathers, who entertained better hopes, and, "chearfully, came into every conceſſion both juſt, and "unjuſt

" unjuſt in favor of the people, might appear to have acted
" with greater prudence than myſelf. But, ſince your
" affairs have taken a turn contrary to my wiſhes, and
" prayers, but not contrary to my expectations, and that
" your favors have been returned with envy, and hatred, I
" ſhall forbear to cenſure you for your paſt errors, and to
" give you a fruitleſs uneaſineſs (which is a very eaſy
" taſk, and a very common practice) as a thing altogether
" unſeaſonable at this juncture: However, I ſhall endeavour
" to ſuggeſt to you the means of correcting ſuch of your paſt
" errors, as are not, abſolutely, incurable, and of acting in
" the affairs, now, before you with greater prudence. I am
" not ignorant that I ſhall appear to ſome of you to have
" loſt my ſenſes, and to court deſtruction, in delivering my
" opinion, freely, concerning theſe things, when I conſider
" how great dangers a liberty of ſpeech is expoſed to, and
" reflect on the calamities of Marcius, who is, this minute,
" in danger of loſing his life for no other reaſon. But my
" opinion is, that I ought not to be more anxious for the
" ſecurity of my own perſon, than for the advantage of the
" public: For the former has, long ſince, been dedicated to
" the perils, that attend your cauſe, fathers, and devoted to
" conteſts in defence of the commonwealth. So that, what-
" ever Heaven pleaſes to ordain, I ſhall ſuffer it, reſolutely,
" with all of you, or with a few, or, if neceſſary, alone.
" But, while I have life, no fear ſhall deter me from ſpeak-
" ing what I think.

XLIX.

XLIX. " In the firſt place, I deſire you will, now at " laſt, be convinced of this, that the body of the people are " diſaffected, and enemies to the preſent eſtabliſhment, and " that all the conceſſions you have, through ſoftneſs, made to " them are, not only, thrown away, but have expoſed you to " contempt, as granted by you through neceſſity, and not " flowing from good will, and choice: For I deſire you to " conſider that this people, when, revolting from you, they " took arms, and had the boldneſs to declare open war " againſt you, had received no injury, but pretended their " inability to pay their creditors: And, after you had granted " them an abolition of their debts, and an impunity for the " crimes they had committed in their revolt, they declared " they would make no farther demands: Upon which " occaſion, [21] the greateſt part of you, though not all, miſled " by theſe counſellors (which I wiſh had, never, happened)

21. Εγνωσαν οἱ πλειους ὑμων. I have followed Caſaubon in reſtoring this paſſage with the addition of two words to connect it with That, which goes before. This addition Caſaubon thinks neceſſary, though he added nothing himſelf. I have, therefore, ſaid τοτε δη; which the reader will, I hope, think a ſufficient connexion. In this manner, therefore, I would read the paſſage, and, according to this, I have tranſlated it; τοτε δη εγνωσαν οἱ πλειους ὑμων (ου γαρ δη παντες) παρακρουσθεντες ὑποτων συμβουλων (ὡς μη ποτε ωφελον) ακυρωσαι τους επι τη πιστει τιθεντας νομους. I have, alſo, added δε after ηγαπησε, in the next paragraph, which is, viſibly, wanting. I ſhall not repeat any of the authorities made uſe of by Caſaubon to juſtify this expreſſion, ὡς μη ποτε ωφελον, becauſe every perſon, who has read the beſt Greek authors, particularly the poets, muſt have met with it frequently. The Latin, and, conſequently, the French tranſlators, have made ſtrange work with this period. By ſuppoſing, with Gelenius, that καιπερ ought to be prefixed to εγνωσαν, which Hudſon, alſo, approves of, the former have made our author ſay that the ſenate voted an abolition of debts, and an amneſty, notwithſtanding the majority were of opinion, καιπερ οἱ πλειους εγνωσαν, that neither of them were proper to be enacted.

" came

" came to a reſolution to abrogate the laws calculated to
" ſupport public faith, and to grant an amneſty for all the
" outrages they had been guilty of. However, they were
" not ſatisfied with this favor, the obtaining of which alone
" they ſaid was the aim of their revolt, but, preſently,
" deſired another ſtill greater, and more illegal; they deſired
" leave to be granted them to chuſe tribunes out of their
" own body every year, making our power the pretence of
" this demand, to the end, truly, that ſome relief, and refuge
" might lie open to the poorer citizens, who were injured,
" and oppreſſed; but, in reality, with an inſidious deſign
" againſt our conſtitution, and a view to change it to a
" democracy. This magiſtracy, alſo, the counſellors, I
" before mentioned, prevailed upon you to introduce into
" the commonwealth; the introduction of which muſt ruin
" the ſtate, and create envy to the ſenate in particular;
" while I, if you remember, exclaimed againſt it, and called
" both gods, and men to witneſs that you would bring into
" the commonwealth an everlaſting civil war, and foretold
" every thing, that has, ſince, befallen you.

L. " What then did this grateful people do, after you had
" granted them this magiſtracy alſo? They retained no
" gratitude for ſo great a favor, nor received it with reſpect,
" and modeſty; but as if they had extorted it from your
" dread of their power, and from your conſternation. After
" that, they ſaid this magiſtracy ought to be declared ſacred
" and inviolable, and ſecured by oaths, deſiring that a
" greater honor might be annexed to it than you yourſelves,

" ever,

" ever, conferred upon the conſuls: This, alſo, you ſub-
" mitted to; and, ſtanding by the victims, you curſed both
" yourſelves, and your poſterity, if you violated the oath
" you, then, took. What did they do, when they had ob-
" tained this alſo? Inſtead of acknowledging the favor, and
" maintaining the form of government delivered down to
" them from their anceſtors, they began from theſe advan-
" tages, and made theſe illegal ſucceſſes the ſteps to future
" enterpriſes, and, not only, bring in laws without a pre-
" vious order of the ſenate, but enact them without your
" concurrence: They pay no regard to the decrees you
" publiſh, and accuſe the conſuls of male adminiſtration;
" and, if, by chance, any thing happens contrary to the
" agreement you made with them (as there are many things,
" which human reaſon cannot provide againſt) they attribute
" it not to chance, as I ſaid, but to a premeditated deſign
" in you: And, while they pretend that ſnares are laid for
" them by you, and that they are afraid you ſhould either
" deprive them of their liberty, or expel them their country,
" they themſelves are, continually, forming the ſame deſigns
" againſt you; and they, plainly, ſhew that they guard
" againſt the miſchief, they ſay, they apprehend, by no
" other means, than by firſt inflicting it: This they have,
" often, made apparent, even before, and upon many oc-
" caſions, which I muſt not mention at preſent; but, par-
" ticularly, by their treatment of Marcius, a lover of his
" country, a man of no obſcure birth, and who himſelf is
" inferior to none of us in courage; whom they accuſed of

" forming deſigns againſt them, and of giving evil advice " in this place, and attempted to put to death without a " trial: And, if the conſuls, and thoſe of the beſt ſentiments " among you had not aſſembled in a body, and reſtrained " their illegal attempts, you had been deprived, in one " day, of every thing your anceſtors acquired for you " with many labors, and of every thing you yourſelves, " after as many conteſts, are poſſeſſed of, your dignity, your " ſovereignty, and your liberty: While thoſe among you, " who had more ſpirit, and would not have been con- " tented with life alone, unleſs they could have lived to " enjoy thoſe advantages, would either then, or, ſoon after, " have loſt their lives rather than have been deprived of " them: For, if Marcius had been ſuffered to be ſeized in " ſo ſhameful, and daſtardly a manner, as in a ſolitude, " what could have hindered me alſo, after him, and all of " you, who ever had oppoſed, or were like to oppoſe, the " unwarrantable attempts of the people, from being torne " in pieces by our enemies? For they would not have been " ſatisfied with taking off us two only, neither would they, " after they had gone ſo far, have ſtopped in their career of " wickedneſs, if any conjecture can be formed of their " future behaviour by That which is paſſed; but, having " begun with us, they would have ruſhed, like a torrent, " upon all their adverſaries, and upon all thoſe, who did " not ſubmit to them, and would have borne them down, " and overwhelmed them, without ſparing birth, virtue, " or age.

LI.

LI. " Theſe, fathers, are the grateful returns, which the " people have, already, made, and, if you had not oppoſed " them, would have made, for the many ſignal benefits they " have received from you. Now conſider, alſo, in what man- " ner they behaved themſelves, after you had, upon this occa- " ſion, acted with ſo much reſolution, and prudence, to the " end you may learn from thence how you ought to treat " them. As ſoon, therefore, as they found you reſolved, no " longer, to bear their inſolence, but were prepared to attack " them, they were ſtruck with terror, and ſoon recovering " themſelves, as from a fit of drunkenneſs, or madneſs, they " deſcended from violence, and had recourſe to law; and, " appointing a day, they cited Marcius then to appear, and " take his trial, in which they themſelves were to be the " accuſers, the witneſſes, and the judges, and to determine " the degree of the puniſhment: And, when you oppoſed " this alſo, becauſe you thought that he was called upon not " to be tried, but to be puniſhed, the people, who know " they have, upon no occaſion, an abſolute power, but only " That of ratifying your previous orders by their ſuffrages, " now abate of the arrogance they were, before, poſſeſſed " with, and are come to requeſt that you will grant them " this favor alſo. Reflect, therefore, upon theſe things; learn, " at laſt, and know that all the favors you have, hitherto, " granted them, with greater weakneſs than prudence, have " brought calamities, and miſchiefs upon you; and that every " vigorous oppoſition you have given to their illegal, and " violent proceedings, has turned to your advantage. What

" advice, therefore, do I give you now you are ſenſible of " theſe things? And what opinion do I deliver upon the " preſent queſtion? It is this; that, whatever favors, and " conceſſions you made to the people at the time of your " reconciliation, however you came to make thoſe con- " ceſſions, you adhere to them as valid; and violate " none of the articles you, then, granted to them; not " becauſe they are honourable in themſelves, and worthy " the dignity of the commonwealth; how ſhould they? " But becauſe they are neceſſary, and without remedy. As " to any thing beyond this, which they may endeavour to " extort from you againſt your will by violence, and illegal " means, I adviſe you not to grant, or allow it; but all of " you in general, and every one in particular, to oppoſe " them both by your words, and actions: For, if a perſon " has committed one error, either through deluſion, or ne- " ceſſity, ought he, for that reaſon, to act in the like manner " in every thing elſe; on the contrary, he ought to remem- " ber that error, and to conſider by what means his future " conduct may not reſemble his former. Theſe are the " reſolutions I think you ought all of you in general to take; " and I adviſe you to be prepared againſt the unwarrantable " deſires of power in the people.

LII. " That this affair, which is the ſubject of your " preſent conſideration, is, alſo, of the ſame caſt with their " other unjuſt, and illegal attempts, and not, as the tribune " endeavoured to prove in order to deceive you, a juſt, and " reaſonable requeſt, let thoſe among you, now, learn, who

" are

" are, not yet, convinced of it. The law, therefore, relating
" to popular judgements, upon which Lucius laid the greateſt
" ſtreſs, was not enacted againſt the patricians, but for the
" ſecurity of ſuch plebeians, as are oppreſſed, as the law itſelf,
" plainly, ſhews; the terms of which admit of no doubt:
" And you yourſelves, who are, perfectly, acquainted with
" the ſenſe of this law, with great unanimity, always, declare
" it to be ſo. And this is, clearly, evinced by time, the beſt
" interpreter of every ambiguous law, nineteen years being,
" now, paſſed ſince this was enacted; during all which,
" Lucius cannot produce one inſtance of a trial, either
" public, or private, attempted againſt any patrician in virtue
" of this law: But, if he will ſay he can, let him produce it,
" and the debate is at an end. As to the late agreement
" you entered into with the people, it is neceſſary you ſhould
" be informed of its tenor; ſince the tribune has ſhewn
" himſelf an ill interpreter of it: This agreement compre-
" hends theſe two conceſſions; that the plebeians be diſ-
" charged of their debts, and that this magiſtracy be, an-
" nually, created for the relief of the oppreſſed, and the
" prevention of injuſtice, and for no other purpoſe whatever.
" But, let the preſent conduct of the people themſelves be
" the greateſt proof to you that, neither the law before
" mentioned, nor the agreement, have given them the power
" of trying a patrician: For they aſk this power of you now,
" as not being, before, intitled to it: And no man would
" condeſcend to receive That from others as a favor, to
" which he has a right by law. And how can this, fathers,
" be

" be an unwritten law of nature (for in this light, alſo,
" Lucius deſired us to conſider it) that the people ſhall try
" all cauſes, in which the plebeians are concerned, whether
" the actions are brought againſt them by the patricians;
" or, by them, againſt the latter: And that the patricians,
" whether plaintifs, or defendants in any ſuit with the
" plebeians, ſhall have no power to determine theſe conteſts;
" but that the advantage, in both caſes, be given to the
" people, and we have no ſhare in either? If Marcius, or
" any other patrician, whoſoever he be, has injured the
" people, and deſerves either death, or baniſhment, let him
" be puniſhed for the injury he has done them; but let him
" not be tried by them, but in this place, as the law directs.
" Unleſs you are pleaſed to ſay, Lucius, that the people will
" act the part of an impartial judge, and ſhew no favor to
" themſelves, when they give their votes againſt an enemy;
" and that theſe, if they are ſuffered to vote in his caſe, will
" ſhew more favor to the guilty man, than to the common-
" wealth, that ſuffers by his guilt, when, by their ſentence,
" they are ſure to draw upon themſelves a curſe, the infamy
" of perjury, the deteſtation of mankind, and the anger of
" the gods, and to live in expectation of miſery. It is un-
" worthy of you, citizens, to entertain theſe thoughts of the
" ſenate, to whom you own you reſign honors, magiſtracies,
" and the greateſt dignities in the commonwealth, on ac-
" count of their virtue, and ſay you think yourſelves much
" obliged to them for the zeal they expreſſed for your return:
" Theſe things are not conſiſtent; neither is it reaſonable that
" you

" you ſhould fear thoſe you commend, and intruſt the ſame " perſons with things of the greateſt moment, while you " ſuſpect them in Thoſe of leſs conſequence. Why do you " not rather all agree to truſt them with every thing, or to " ſuſpect them in every thing? You think them capable of " making a previous order with juſtice, but not of judging " in conſequence of that order. I had many other things " to ſay concerning the point of right, fathers, but let this " ſuffice.

LIII. " But, ſince Lucius, in order to convince us of the " utility of this meaſure, has ſhewn how advantageous a " thing union is, and how deſtructive, ſedition; and that, " if we cultivate the people, we ſhall live together in har- " mony; but, if we hinder them from baniſhing, or mur- " dering any of the patricians they think fit, we ſhall be " involved in a civil war; though I have many things to " ſay upon this head, I ſhall content myſelf with very few. " And firſt, I cannot help admiring the vanity of Lucius " (not to call it folly) for thinking himſelf a better judge of " the intereſt of the ſtate, though juſt come into the ad- " miniſtration of the public affairs, than we, who are grown " old in it, and have raiſed the commonwealth, from being " inconſiderable, to the greatneſs ſhe, now, enjoys: And, in " the next place, for imagining he could perſuade you to " deliver up any man to his enemies to be puniſhed: and, " particularly, your fellow-citizen, a perſon of no ſmall " diſtinction, or merit; but one, whom you yourſelves look " upon as famous for his military exploits, moſt exemplary

" in

" in his private life, and inferior to none in his abilities for
" civil affairs. And theſe things he has dared to advance,
" when he knows you, always, ſhew the greateſt reſpect to
" ſupplicants, and do not, even, exclude your enemies, who
" fly hither for refuge, from this inſtance of your huma-
" nity. If you knew we practiſed the contrary of all theſe,
" Lucius; entertained impious ſentiments concerning the
" gods; were guilty of injuſtice towards men; what action
" more infamous than this could you have adviſed us to
" ſubmit to, by which we muſt incur the hatred both of
" gods, and men, and be, utterly, and, totally, deſtroyed?
" We want not your advice, Lucius, either in delivering up
" any of our citizens, or in any other affair we have to
" tranſact; neither do we, who, at this age, have had ſo
" long an experience both of good and bad fortune, think we
" ought to be directed, in forming a judgement of our own
" intereſt, by the prudence of young men, who are not of
" our own body; nor do we fear the threats, with which you
" endeavour to terrify us, which are not, now, employed by
" you for the firſt time; but, having experienced them
" many times, and urged by many perſons, we ſhall treat
" them with our uſual mildneſs, and bear them with in-
" trepidity: And, if you carry your threats into execution,
" we ſhall defend ourſelves with the aſſiſtance both of the
" gods, who are, always, enemies to the aggreſſors in an
" unjuſt war, and of men, no ſmall number of whom will
" ſupport our cauſe: For, all the Latines, to whom we,
" lately, granted the rights of Roman citizens, will declare
" for

" for us, and fight for this city, as for a country, now, their " own; and the many flouriſhing colonies we have planted, " zealous for the preſervation of their mother city, will fly " to her defence. And, if you reduce us to the neceſſity of " embracing every kind of aſſiſtance, we will ſubmit, Lucius, " to invite even our ſlaves to liberty; our enemies to friend- " ſhip; and all mankind to a ſhare in our hopes of victory; " and then ingage you: But, O Jupiter, and all ye gods, " who guard this city, may there be no occaſion for any " thing of this kind; may theſe terrible threats go no far- " ther than words, and produce no diſagreeable effect!"

LIV. Thus Appius ſpoke; when Manius Valerius, who was the greateſt friend to the people of all the ſenators, and had ſhewn the greateſt zeal for the accommodation, upon this occaſion alſo, openly, eſpouſed their intereſt; and made a ſtudied ſpeech, in which he cenſured thoſe ſenators, who would not ſuffer the commonwealth to remain united, but ſought to divide the plebeians from the patricians; and, for trifling cauſes, to rekindle the fire of a civil war: He, then, commended thoſe, who looked upon the only advantage in queſtion to be [22] That of the public, and thought every conſideration ſhould give way to an union of all the citizens; and told them that, if the people obtained the power they deſired of trying this man, and received this favor, alſo, from the conſent of the ſenate, they would, poſſibly, not even proceed to extremities; but, ſatisfied

[22] Το κοινον. Inſtead of ſtriking out και, with Portus, I have ſubſtituted το in its place; and am apt to think that, if he had ſeen the Vatican manuſcript, which has ἐν το συμφερον, he would have done the ſame.

with having him in their power, would treat him with lenity, rather than ſeverity: However, if the tribunes ſhould, by all means, inſiſt on their proceeding to judgement, and put it in their power to give their votes, they would acquit him, as well from their reſpect to the perſon himſelf, then in danger, whoſe many brave actions they might remember, as to return the favor of the ſenate, who had granted them this power, and had oppoſed them in nothing, that was reaſonable: And he adviſed the conſuls, and all the ſenators, together with the reſt of the patricians, to be preſent, in a body, at the trial, and to aſſiſt Marcius in making his defence, and intreat the people to come to no ſevere reſolution againſt him (for he aſſured them that the preſence of theſe would be of no ſmall weight to facilitate his acquittal) and that they ſhould aſſiſt him, not only, in their own perſons, but that each of them ſhould ingage their own clients, and aſſemble their friends; and, if they thought that any of the plebeians were attached to them from the obligations they had received from them, they ſhould ſolicit theſe, and deſire they would ſhew their gratitude for former favors, when they came to give their votes. He told them, alſo, there would be many among the people, who were lovers of their country, enemies to all injuſtice, and men of worth; and ſtill more, who would be moved with the viciſſitude of human affairs, and know how to compaſſionate men of dignity, when humbled by fortune. But the greateſt part of his diſcourſe was addreſſed to Marcius himſelf, in which he joined an exhortation to a remonſtrance, and intreaty

intreaty to neceſſity: For he begged of him, ſince he was accuſed of dividing the people from the ſenate, and, alſo, charged with being tyrannical by reaſon of his haughty behaviour, and that all men were afraid leſt, through his means, cauſe ſhould be given for ſedition, and for all the irreparable miſchiefs, which flow from civil wars, that he would not verify, and give a ſanction to, theſe accuſations againſt himſelf, by perſevering in his invidious behaviour, but change it to an humble deportment; ſubmit his perſon to the power of thoſe, who complained of being injured, and not decline to clear himſelf of an unjuſt charge by a juſt defence: For theſe meaſures, he told him, were the moſt ſafe with regard to his preſervation; and, with regard to the glory he aimed at, the moſt illuſtrious, and of the ſame tenor with the great actions he had, already, performed: Whereas, if he ſhould act with greater pride, than moderation, and deſire the ſenate to expoſe themſelves to every danger for his ſake, he ſhewed him that he would be the cauſe either of an unhappy defeat, or of an opprobrious victory to thoſe, who had ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded by him. And, upon this occaſion, he laid himſelf out in lamentations, and enumerated the moſt conſiderable, and the moſt obvious misfortunes, to which commonwealths are expoſed through diſſentions.

LV. Theſe things having been uttered with many real, not feigned, and affected tears, by a man, eminent for the dignity both of his age, and virtue, the ſenate was moved with his diſcourſe; which he obſerving, proceeded with

greater confidence: "But, ſays he, if any of you, fathers, "are alarmed with an apprehenſion that you will introduce "a pernicious cuſtom into the commonwealth, if you grant "the people a power of giving their ſuffrages againſt the "patricians, and entertain an opinion that the tribunitian "power, if conſiderably ſtrengthened, will prove of no "advantage, let them learn that their opinion is erroneous, "and their imagination contrary to ſound reaſoning: For, "if any meaſure can tend to preſerve this commonwealth, "to aſſure both her liberty, and power, and to eſtabliſh a "perpetual union, and harmony in all things, the moſt "effectual will be to give the people a ſhare in the govern-"ment: And the moſt advantageous thing to us will be, "not to have a ſimple, and unmixed form of government, "neither [23] a monarchy, an oligarchy, nor a democracy,

23. Πολιτειαν ακρατον, μητε ΜΟΝΑΡΧΙΑΝ, μητε ολιγαρχιαν, μητε δημοκρατιαν. I am very much ſurpriſed that none of the learned men, who have beſtowed their pains upon Dionyſius, ſaw the neceſſity of adding μοναρχιαν, which is omitted in all the editions, and manuſcripts. Without this addition, our author's language is not Greek, and his reaſoning is imperfect. The firſt of theſe aſſertions will appear, when it is conſidered that, after he has mentioned theſe different forms of government, he ſays, μικτην εξ ΑΠΑΣΩΝ τουτων καταστασιν; whereas, if he had ſpoken but of two, he would have ſaid, εξ αμφοτερων τουτων. Again, inſtead of τουτων ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ των πολιτευματων, he would have ſaid ἑκατερον, if he had, before, mentioned but two ſorts of government. I ſhall, now, deſire the reader to conſider the context. Our author, in the next paragraph, ſhews by what means the exceſſes of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy may be corrected, and begins with monarchy. This I muſt think very abſurd, if he had not, before, mentioned it. But he goes on, and ſays, the Romans had taken all poſſible care that the monarchical power ſhould not degenerate into tyranny, by inveſting two perſons with it, inſtead of one, and by confining the exerciſe of it to a year; and, then, proceeds to the propereſt methods of preſerving both the ſenate from a luxurious abuſe of power, and the people from licentiouſneſs. This recapitulation I think, plainly proves that, in deſcribing the different forms of

"but

" but a conſtitution tempered with all of them: For each
" of theſe forms, when ſimple, very eaſily deviates into
" abuſe, and exceſs; but, when all of them are, equally,
" mixed, that part, which happens to innovate, and to ex-
" ceed the cuſtomary bounds, is, always, reſtrained by an-
" other, that is ſober, and adheres to the eſtabliſhed order.
" Thus monarchy, when it becomes cruel and inſolent, and
" begins to purſue tyrannical meaſures, is ſubverted by an
" oligarchy conſiſting of good men: And an oligarchy,
" compoſed of the beſt men, which is your form of govern-
" ment, when, elated with riches, and dependants, it pays
" no regard to juſtice, or to any other virtue, is deſtroyed
" by a wiſe people: And, in a democracy, when the people,
" from being modeſt in their deportment, and obſervant of
" the laws, begin to run into diſorders, and exceſſes, they
" are forced to return to their duty by the power, with
" which, upon thoſe occaſions, the beſt man of the com-
" monwealth is inveſted. You, fathers, have uſed all poſ-
" ſible precautions to prevent monarchical power from de-
" generating into tyranny: For, inſtead of a ſingle perſon,
" you have inveſted two with the ſupreme power; and,
" though you committed this magiſtracy to them not for

government at firſt, he did not omit monarchy. Upon the whole, if the reader pleaſes to caſt his eye upon the ſixth book of [m] Polybius, he will there find the ſame reaſoning upon the three forms of government, from which reaſoning our author, probably, derived this true political ſyſtem; that every one of them, when ſimple, and unmixed, which the former calls, very properly, ἁπλην και μονοειδη, is faulty; and that the only perfect form is That, which conſiſts in an union of *all three*.

[m] P. 459.

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" an indefinite time, but only for a year, you, nevertheleſs, appointed three hundred patricians, the moſt reſpectable both for their virtue, and their age, of whom this ſenate is compoſed, to watch over their conduct: But you do not ſeem, hitherto, to have appointed any to watch over your own, and to keep you within proper bounds. As for yourſelves, I am, as yet, under no apprehenſions leſt you ſhould ſuffer your minds to be corrupted by great, and accumulated proſperity, who have, lately, delivered your country from a long tyranny; and, through continual, and laſting wars, have not, as yet, had leiſure to grow inſolent, and luxurious; but, with regard to your ſucceſſors, when I conſider how great alterations length of time brings with it, I am afraid leſt the men of power in the ſenate ſhould innovate, and, ſilently, transform our conſtitution to a monarchical tyranny.

LVI. " Whereas, if you admit the people to a ſhare in the government, no miſchief can ſpring from the ſenate; but the man, who aims at greater power than the reſt of his fellow-citizens, and has formed a faction in the ſenate of all, who are willing to partake of his counſels, and his crimes (for thoſe, who deliberate concerning public affairs, ought to foreſee every thing, that is probable) this great, this awful perſon, I ſay, when called upon by the tribunes to appear before the people, muſt give an account both of his actions, and thoughts to this people, inconſiderable as they are, and ſo much his inferiors; and, if found guilty, ſuffer the puniſhment he deſerves. And,

" leſt

" leſt the people themſelves, when veſted with ſo great a
" power, ſhould grow wanton; and, ſeduced by the worſt
" of demagogues, become dangerous to the beſt citizens
" (for the multitude, generally, give birth to tyranny) ſome
" perſon of conſummate prudence, created dictator by your-
" ſelves, will guard againſt this evil, and not allow them to
" run into exceſs; and, being inveſted with abſolute power,
" and ſubject to no account, will cut off the infected part
" of the commonwealth, and not ſuffer That, which is not
" yet infected, to be vitiated; reform the laws; excite the
" citizens to virtue, and appoint ſuch magiſtrates, as he
" thinks will govern with the greateſt prudence; and, hav-
" ing effected theſe things within the ſpace of ſix months,
" he will, again, become a private man, without receiving
" any other reward for theſe actions, than That of being
" honoured for having performed them. Induced, therefore,
" by theſe conſiderations, and convinced that this is the
" moſt perfect form of government, debar the people from
" nothing; but, as you have granted them a power of
" chuſing the annual magiſtrates, who are to preſide over
" the commonwealth; of confirming, and repealing, laws;
" of declaring war, and making peace; which are the
" greateſt, and the moſt important affairs, that come under
" the conſideration of our government, not one of which you
" have ſubmitted to the abſolute determination of the ſe-
" nate, allow them, in like manner, the power of trying
" offenders, particularly ſuch, as are accuſed of crimes
" againſt the ſtate, of raiſing a ſedition, of aiming at ty-
" ranny

" ranny, of concerting meaſures with our enemies to betray " the commonwealth, or of any other crimes of the like " nature: For, the more formidable you render the tranſ- " greſſion of the laws, and the alteration of diſcipline, by " appointing many inſpectors, and many guards over the " inſolent, and the ambitious, the more will your conſtitu- " tion be improved."

LVII. After he had ſaid this, and other things to the ſame purpoſe, he ended. And the reſt of the ſenators, who roſe up after him, except a few, concurred with him in opinion. When the previous order of the ſenate was to be drawn up, Marcius deſired leave to ſpeak, and ſaid: " You " all know, fathers, in what manner I have acted with re- " gard to the commonwealth; that my zeal for your in- " tereſt has brought me into this danger, and that your " behaviour to me upon this occaſion is contrary to my " expectation; and you will, ſtill, be more convinced of " this, when my affair is determined. However, ſince the " opinion of Valerius prevails, may theſe meaſures prove of " advantage to you, and may I form a wrong judgement of " future events. But, that you, who are to draw up the " previous order, may know upon what terms you are going " to deliver me up to the people; and that I myſelf may, " alſo, know for what I am to be tried, I deſire you will " order the tribunes to declare, in your preſence, what the " crime is they deſign to accuſe me of, and what kind of " title they will give to the cauſe."

LVIII.

LVIII. He ſaid this from an opinion that he was to be tried for the words he had ſpoken in the ſenate; and, alſo, from a deſire that the tribunes might acknowledge they deſigned to ground their accuſation on them. But the tribunes, after conſulting together, declared they accuſed him of aiming at tyranny; and ordered him to prepare himſelf to make his defence againſt that charge: For they were unwilling to confine their accuſation to one article, and That, neither ſtrong in itſelf, nor acceptable to the ſenate; but choſe rather to leave to themſelves a latitude of accuſing him of what they ſhould think fit: By which means, they expected to deprive Marcius of the aſſiſtance of the ſenators. Upon which, Marcius ſaid; "If this is the crime I am to be tried "for, I ſubmit myſelf to the judgement of the plebeians, "and let the previous order be drawn up without oppoſi-"tion." The greateſt part of the ſenators were well pleaſed that he was to be tried upon this charge, for two reaſons; the firſt, that, from thenceforward, it would not be criminal for any perſon to deliver his ſentiments, freely, in the ſenate; and the other, that Marcius, whoſe courſe of life had, always, been modeſt and irreprehenſible, would, eaſily, clear himſelf of that accuſation. After this, the previous order for the trial was drawn up; and Marcius had time given him to prepare for his defence till the third market day: For the Romans had, then, markets, as they now have, every ninth day; and, upon theſe days, the plebeians reſorted to the city from all parts of the country, and exchanged the product of their lands for what they wanted; decided their conteſts

in a judicial way, and, by their votes, gave their ſanction to thoſe public affairs, which either the laws ſubmitted, or the ſenate referred, to their determination: And, as the greateſt part of them were employed in labor, and poor, they paſſed the interval, conſiſting of[24] ſeven days, in the country. As ſoon, therefore, as the tribunes received the previous order of the ſenate, they went to the forum; and, calling the people together, gave great commendations to the ſenate; and, having read the order, they appointed the day for the trial, at which they deſired all the citizens to be preſent, as affairs of the greateſt moment would, then, be ſubmitted to their deliberation.

LIX. When theſe tranſactions came to be divulged, the plebeians, and patricians appeared againſt one another with great zeal, and oppoſition; the former deſiring

[24] Επλα νμερας. Caſaubon, and, after him, M. ***, ſay that either our author, or the tranſcriber, has, by miſtake, ſaid επλα, inſtead of οκλω, which, they ſay, is the true reading. In this I cannot agree with them; becauſe, as the *Nundinae*, among the Romans, were held every ninth day, it is plain there could be but ſeven days between each. And, that the Romans underſtood it ſo themſelves, I ſhall prove from undoubted authority. [n] Varro, in ſpeaking of the encouragement given to agriculture in the early days of the commonwealth, ſays; *Itaque (majores noſtri) annum ita diviſerunt, ut nonis modo diebus urbanas res uſurparent, reliquis* ſeptem *ut rura colerent.* The nundinal letters were the eight firſt letters of the alphabet; and, in whatever year, the A was the firſt nundinae, every nundinae in that year fell upon an A; and, going round from A to A, it is plain that there were no more than ſeven intervening letters. The dominical letters, being the ſeven firſt letters of the alphabet, were, with many other things, borrowed from the old Romans by the Chriſtians; and, in whatever year, the firſt Sunday falls upon an A, every Sunday in that year will, alſo, fall upon an A; and it is equally plain, that, from A to A, there are no more than ſix intervening days.

[n] B. ii. De Re Pecuaria. In the preface.

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to chaſtiſe the moſt arrogant of all men; and the latter to prevent the champion of the ariſtocracy from falling a victim to his enemies; both parties looking upon their preſervation, and their liberty to depend upon the event of this trial. When the third market day was come, there was ſuch a concourſe of people from the country, as had, never before, been known, who got poſſeſſion of the forum by break of day. The tribunes, then, cauſed the people to aſſemble in their tribes, having, beforehand, divided the forum with ropes, and appointed a ſeperate ſtand for each tribe. And this was the [25] firſt time the people of Rome were ever

[25] Και τοῖς πρώτον ἐγένετο Ῥωμαίοις ἐκκλησια ἡ φυλετικη. Our author ſhews the difference between the *comitia centuriata*, and *tributa*, ſo fully, together with the reaſons, which induced the tribunes to inſiſt upon the latter, that it would be to very little purpoſe to add any thing to what he has ſaid upon this ſubject; particularly, ſince [o] I have treated it at large upon another occaſion. I ſhall, therefore, only ſay that, by the inſtitution of the *comitia tributa*, the people were reſtored to a right they had, ever, enjoyed from the foundation of their city, till they were deprived of it by Servius Tullius, when he introduced the *comitia centuriata*; which, however reaſonable in other reſpects, were, moſt certainly, injurious to the people, as to their right of voting: For, till then, the only *comitia* were the *curiata*, in which the vote of every Roman citizen was of equal importance: The majority of the *curiae* carried every queſtion; and the majority of ſingle votes determined the vote of every *curia*. Whereas, in the *comitia centuriata*, the firſt claſs, which conſiſted alone of eighty centuries of foot, and eighteen of horſe, all compoſed of the richeſt ſubjects of the commonwealth, made a majority of three: Conſequently, if they all agreed, it was to no purpoſe to take the votes of the remaining ninety five centuries: By which method of voting, the following claſſes were ſeldom, and the inferior claſſes, ſcarce ever, called upon to give their votes. As to the *comitia tributa*, the citizens voted in theſe, as they did in the *comitia curiata*: The majority of tribes was concluſive; and the vote of every tribe was known by the majority of ſingle votes in that tribe. By this detail, it appears that, by the inſtitution of the *tributa comitia*, the people gained no new right; but were, only, reſtored to a right their anceſtors had, before, enjoyed.

[o] See the 122d annotation on the ſecond book.

aſſembled in their tribes to give their votes. This the patricians, violently, oppoſed, and inſiſted on their aſſembling the people in their centuries, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom: For, before that time, when the people were to give their votes upon any point referred to them by the ſenate, the conſuls aſſembled them in their centuries, after they had offered up the ſacrifices appointed by law; and, to this day, ſome of theſe are performed: Then the people aſſembled in the field of Mars, before the city, drawn up under their centurions, and their enſigns, as in war: They did not give their votes promiſcuouſly, but each in their reſpective centuries, when called upon by the conſuls: And there being, in all, one hundred and ninety three centuries, and theſe diſtributed into ſix claſſes, that claſs was firſt called, and gave its vote, which conſiſted of thoſe citizens, whoſe fortunes were of the greateſt value upon the regiſter, and who ſtood in the foremoſt rank in battle: In this were compriſed eighteen centuries of horſe, and eighty of foot: The claſs, that voted in the ſecond place, was compoſed of thoſe of inferior fortunes, whoſe poſt, in actions, was in the ſecond rank, and who were armed in a different, and lighter manner, than thoſe in the firſt rank; all theſe formed twenty centuries, and to them were added two centuries of carpenters, and armourers, and other artificers employed in making warlike engines: Thoſe who were called to vote in the third claſs, completed twenty centuries; theſe had ſmaller fortunes, than thoſe of the ſecond claſs, and were poſted behind them, and not armed like thoſe of the ſecond rank: The next

" called,

called, were inferior in fortune to the laſt, and had a ſafer poſt in battle, and their armour was more calculated for expedition: Theſe, alſo, were divided into twenty centuries; and to them were added two centuries of blowers on the horn, and trumpeters: The claſs, which was called in the fifth place, conſiſted of ſuch, as had very ſmall fortunes; and whoſe arms were javelins, and ſlings: Theſe had no certain poſt, when the army was drawn up; but, being light armed men, and prepared for expedition, they attended the heavy armed men, and were diſtributed into thirty centuries: The pooreſt of the citizens, who were not leſs numerous than all the reſt, voted laſt, and made but one century: Theſe were exempt from ſerving in the army, and from the taxes paid by the reſt of the citizens in proportion to their poſſeſſions; and, for both theſe reaſons, their ſuffrages were of the leaſt weight. If, therefore, ninety ſeven of the firſt centuries, which conſiſted of the horſe, and of ſuch of the foot, as ſtood in the firſt rank in time of action, were of the ſame opinion, the poll was at an end, and the remaining ninety ſix centuries were not called to give their votes: But, if it were otherwiſe, the ſecond claſs, compoſed of twenty two centuries, was called, and, then the third; and ſo on, till ninety ſeven centuries were of the ſame opinion: Generally the points in diſpute, were determined by the votes of the firſt claſſes: So that, it was needleſs to take Thoſe of the laſt. And it ſeldom happened that a point was ſo doubtful, as to make it neceſſary to have recourſe to the votes of the pooreſt citizens, of whom the laſt claſs was com-

compoſed: But, if the firſt hundred and ninety two centuries were, equally, divided, the laſt vote, added to either ſide, was in the nature of a final determination, and turned the ſcale. The advocates, therefore, of Marcius deſired that this kind of aſſembly, founded on the poſſeſſions of the citizens, might be called, from an expectation that he might, poſſibly, be acquitted, upon the firſt call, by the ninety eight centuries; if not, at leaſt upon the ſecond, or third. On the other ſide, the tribunes, ſuſpecting this, thought it their intereſt to call an aſſembly of the people in their tribes, and to impower that kind of aſſembly to decide this cauſe; to the end, that neither the poor might be in a worſe condition, than the rich; nor the light armed men be placed in a leſs honourable ſtation, than the heavy armed; nor the body of the people, by being thrown off to the laſt calls, ſtand excluded from an equality of ſuffrage: But that, all the citizens might be equal in their votes, and equal in their ranks, and, at one call, give their votes in their tribes. The claim of the tribunes ſeemed to be the beſt founded; becauſe they contended that the tribunal of the people ought to be a popular, not an oligarchical, tribunal, and that the cognizance of crimes committed againſt the commonwealth ought to be common to all.

LX. The tribunes having obtained this, alſo, from the patricians, though not without difficulty, when it was time for the trial to begin, Minucius, one of the conſuls, was the firſt perſon, who aſcended the roſtrum, and ſpoke in the manner the ſenate had directed him: And firſt, he put the people

people in mind of all the benefits they had received from the patricians; then he deſired that, in return for ſo many good offices, the people would grant them one favor, which they were under a neceſſity of requeſting, as it would tend to the good of the commonwealth. After this, he diſplayed the advantages of concord, and peace, ſhewing the great happineſs, which each of them brought to every government; and inveighed againſt diſcord, and civil wars, by which, he told them, many cities had been deſtroyed, with all their inhabitants, and whole nations extirpated: He exhorted them not to indulge their reſentment ſo far, as to prefer deſtructive, to ſalutary, counſels, but, with calm reaſon, to contemplate future events, nor to take the worſt of their fellow-citizens for their adviſers in affairs of the greateſt importance; but thoſe they eſteemed the beſt, from whom they knew their country had received many advantages both in peace, and war, and whom, as if their natures were changed, they would not think it reaſonable to diſtruſt. However, the ſingle aim of his whole diſcourſe was to perſuade them to paſs no vote againſt Marcius; but to acquit the man, for his own ſake, particularly when they remembered in what manner he had acted with regard to the commonwealth, and how many battles he had gained in fighting for her liberty, and ſovereignty; and that they would act neither with piety, juſtice, nor a due regard to themſelves, if they reſented his unguarded words, and were ungrateful to his glorious actions: This, he told them, was the proper ſeaſon for them to acquit him, when he himſelf was come

to

to yield up his perſon to his adverſaries, and was ready to acquieſce in whatever they ſhould think fit to determine: But, if it was impoſſible for them to be reconciled to him, and they, ſtill, continued ſevere and inexorable, he deſired them to conſider that the ſenate, conſiſting of three hundred, all the beſt men of the city, were come to intercede for him, and begged of them to feel ſome compaſſion, and relent; and not, for the ſake of puniſhing one enemy, to reject the interceſſion of ſo many friends; but to diſregard the chaſtiſement of a ſingle man, in favor of ſo many worthy perſons. Having ſaid this, and many things to the ſame purpoſe, he ended his ſpeech with this ſuggeſtion; that, if they acquitted the man by their votes, it would be looked upon that they acquitted him becauſe they thought him not guilty of any crime towards the people; but, if they put a ſtop to the proceedings, they would appear to have gratified his interceſſors.

LXI. When Minucius had done ſpeaking, Sicinnius, the tribune, preſented himſelf, and ſaid, that he would neither betray the liberty of the plebeians himſelf, nor, willingly, ſuffer others to betray it: But, if the patricians, really, conſented that the man ſhould be tried by the plebeians, he would take their votes, and do nothing more. After this, Minucius advancing, ſaid: "Since, tribunes, you deſire, at "all events, that the people ſhould give their votes con- "cerning this man, confine yourſelves to the charge you "have brought againſt him; and, as you have alledged that "he aims at tyranny, ſhew this, and bring your evidence to "prove it; but neither mention, nor charge him with, the

"words

" words you accuſe him of having ſpoken in the ſenate " againſt the people: For the ſenate have, by their votes, " acquitted him of this accuſation, and thought proper that " he ſhould appear before the people, upon the terms con- " tained in their order." After which, he read the previous order; and, having ſaid this, and conjured them to adhere to it, he deſcended from the roſtrum. Sicinnius was the firſt of the tribunes, who opened the charge, which he did in a ſtudied, and elaborate ſpeech, attributing every thing the man had, ever, ſaid, or done againſt the intereſt of the people to a formed deſign of tyranny. When he had done ſpeaking, the moſt eloquent of the tribunes purſued the accuſation.

LXII. After this, Marcius made his defence; and, beginning from his firſt entrance into the world, he enumerated all the campaigns he had made in the ſervice of his country; the crowns he had received from the generals as rewards of victory; the priſoners he had taken, and the citizens he had ſaved in battle: And, upon every occaſion, he produced theſe rewards, cited the generals, as witneſſes, and called upon the citizens he had ſaved, by name: Theſe preſented themſelves with lamentations, and intreated their fellow-citizens not to deſtroy, as an enemy, the man, to whom they owed their preſervation, begging one life in return for many, and offering themſelves, in his room, to be treated by them as they thought fit. The greateſt part of theſe were plebeians, and men, extremely, uſeful to the commonwealth: Their aſpect, and intreaties raiſed ſuch a ſenſe of ſhame in the people, that

they melted into commiſeration, and tears. Then Marcius, rending his garment, ſhewed his breaſt full of wounds, and every other part of his body covered with ſcars, and aſked them if they thought that to preſerve many in war, and to deſtroy the preſerved in time of peace, were actions of the ſame man; and, if any one, who forms a deſign of tyranny, ever expels the common people from a city, by whom tyranny is, chiefly, abetted, and nouriſhed. While he was yet ſpeaking, thoſe among the people, who were inclined to moderation, and lovers of merit, cried out to acquit the man; and were aſhamed that one, who had, ſo often, deſpiſed his own life to preſerve them all, ſhould, even, have been brought to his trial upon ſuch an imputation: But thoſe, who were by nature envious, enemies to virtue, and eaſy to be led into any kind of ſedition, were ſorry they were going to acquit him, but found they could do no otherwiſe, ſince they ſaw no manifeſt proof of his having aimed at tyranny, which was the point, upon which they were to give their votes.

LXIII. This being obſerved by Lucius, who had ſpoken in the ſenate, and prevailed on them to paſs the previous order for the trial, he roſe up; and, having commanded ſilence, ſaid; "Since, citizens, the patricians have acquitted "Marcius of the words he ſpoke in the ſenate, and of the "violent, and overbearing actions, that flowed from them, "and do not, even, ſuffer us to accuſe him of either, hear "what an action, independent of thoſe words, this valiant "man has been guilty of, how inſolent and tyrannical; "and learn of what nature that law is, which he, though a "private

" private perſon, has violated: You all know this law or-
" dains that the ſpoils, taken by us from the enemy by our
" valor, ſhall belong to the public, and that it is ſo far from
" being in the power of any private perſon to diſpoſe of
" them, that even the general himſelf has not this power; but
" the quaeſtor, receiving them. ſells them, and brings the
" money into the public treaſury. And this law no one
" has, yet, found fault with, ſince we have inhabited this
" city, ſo far from violating it: Marcius is the only man,
" who has deſpiſed the authority of this law; he alone has
" thought fit to appropriate to himſelf thoſe ſpoils, citizens,
" that belong to us in common; this he did laſt year; his
" crime is of no long date: For, when you made an incur-
" ſion into the territory of the Antiates, and took many
" priſoners, many cattle, and a great quantity of corn, to-
" gether with many other effects, he neither produced theſe
" before the quaeſtor, nor ſold them himſelf, and brought
" the money into the treaſury; but diſtributed, and laviſhed
" the whole booty among his own friends. This action I
" aver to be a proof of his aiming at tyranny. How ſhould
" it be otherwiſe, when he applied the public money to the
" gratification of his flatterers, his guards, and the accom-
" plices in the tyranny he meditated? And this I maintain
" to be an open violation of the law. Let Marcius, then,
" ſtand up, and prove one of theſe two things, either that
" he did not diſtribute the ſpoils he took from the enemy's
" country among his own friends, or that, in doing ſo, he
" did not violate the laws: Neither of which will he be able

" to prove before you: For you yourſelves are acquainted " with both; you know the law, you know the fact; and, " if you acquit him, your reſolution muſt be looked upon " as contrary both to juſtice, and your oaths. Away then, " Marcius, with your crowns, your rewards of valor, your " wounds, and all the reſt of your oſtentation; and anſwer " to theſe points: For I ſtill give you liberty to do it."

LXIV. This accuſation cauſed a great alteration to the other ſide: For thoſe among the people, who were moſt moderate, and earneſt for the acquittal of Marcius, upon hearing theſe things, grew more remiſs; and all the ill-diſpoſed, who were the greateſt part, deſiring to deſtroy him at all events, were ſtill the more encouraged to his ruin, by laying hold of this ſtrong, and manifeſt proof: For the diſtribution of the ſpoils was fact, but done with no ill intention, nor to promote a deſign of tyranny, as Lucius alledged againſt him; but from the beſt motive, and to redreſs the miſeries of the public: For the ſedition, then, continuing, and the people being divided from the patricians, their enemies, deſpiſing them, infeſted their country, and plundered it without intermiſſion; and, whenever the ſenate thought fit to order an army to be ſent out to its relief, not one of the plebeians would ſerve in it, but rejoiced at the deſolation, and ſuffered it to continue; and the forces of the patricians alone were not ſufficient to defend the country. Marcius, obſerving this, promiſed the conſuls, that he would march againſt the enemy with an army of voluntiers, if they would give him the command of it, and, ſoon, take revenge

on

on them. Marcius, being authoriſed in the manner he had deſired, aſſembled his clients, and friends, and ſuch of the citizens, as were willing to ſhare the advantages expected from the general's fortune in war, and his valor: When he thought the forces he had aſſembled equal to the propoſed expedition, he led them againſt the enemy, who had no intelligence of his deſign: And, entering their country, which was well ſtored with every thing valuable, he poſſeſſed himſelf of a vaſt booty, all which he diſtributed among his ſoldiers, to the end that thoſe, who had aſſiſted him in this expedition, by receiving the fruit of their labor, might, chearfully, ingage in the ſervice upon other occaſions; and that the others, who had declined it, ſeeing what advantages they had loſt through their ſedition, might act with greater prudence, when other expeditions were propoſed. This was the intention of the man in that affair; but to the jealous, and invidious multitude, this action, when conſidered by itſelf, appeared a kind of flattery of the people, and a corruption tending to tyranny. So that, the forum was full of clamor, and tumult; and, as the charge appeared uncommon and unexpected, neither Marcius himſelf, the conſul, nor any other perſon, could make any defence to it. When nothing further was ſaid in his favor, the tribunes called upon the tribes to give their votes, and confined the puniſhment of Marcius to perpetual baniſhment; fearing, I imagine, leſt, if they had extended it to death, he ſhould have been acquitted. After they had all voted, upon counting the ſuffrages, the difference did not appear conſiderable:

For

For there being, at that time, [26] twenty two tribes, that voted, nine of them acquitted Marcius: So that, if two

26. Μιας γαρ και εικοσι τῶν φυλων ὐσων. There is, I believe, no paſſage in this, or in any other author, upon which the commentators have beſtowed more pains to leſs purpoſe: Which I am not at all ſurpriſed at, ſince, as the text, now, ſtands in all the editions, and manuſcripts, it is not poſſible to reconcile it to figures, which are of greater authority than any editions, and manuſcripts whatſoever. But, before I give my own opinion upon this paſſage, I ſhall lay before the reader the different expedients different commentators have had recourſe to; in order to convince him that, as the text, now, ſtands, it is impoſſible to be explained. Our author ſays that Marcius was acquitted by nine tribes; and that, if two more tribes had voted for him, he would have been acquitted by reaſon of the equality of votes, as the law required. Now, the number of twenty one tribes, as it ſtands in the text, will not agree either with the fact, as our author ſtates it, or with the conſequence he draws from that fact: For, if nine tribes of the twenty one acquitted Marcius, twelve muſt have condemned him; take two from the twelve, which condemned him, and add them to the nine, that acquitted him, according to the ſuppoſition of our author, the conſequence will be, that eleven will acquit him, and ten condemn him; in which caſe, he will not be acquitted by an equality of votes, as our author, alſo, ſuppoſes, but by a majority of one vote. The number of twenty one, therefore, will not anſwer theſe purpoſes, nor any other number but twenty two; out of which, if we take the nine votes, that were for him, there will be found thirteen againſt him: From this number, take two, and add them to the firſt nine, and there will be found eleven for him, and as many againſt him; by virtue of which equality, he muſt have been acquitted, as the law required. It may be ſaid this ſolution is very eaſy; but that, in order to come at it, I muſt alter the text from twenty one to twenty two tribes. This I own: But, at the ſame time, I deſire the reader to conſider, that, as the reaſoning of our author depends upon numbers, it muſt be explained by numbers; and no other poſſible number can ſupport it, but That, which I have mentioned. Every one, who has examined Greek manuſcripts, muſt know that nothing is ſo common, as to find miſtakes committed by tranſcribers in relation to numbers; and how eaſy was it for them to write κα, inſtead of κβ? [p] Manucius, in order to ſolve the difficulty of the text, which all the commentators have adhered to, imagines that there were, at that time, thirty one tribes at Rome, of which only twenty one voted in the affair of Coriolanus. This ſuppoſition is, intirely, gratuitous, and founded on no authority: However, M. *** has adopted it. Le Jay, indeed, rejects this imagination of Manucius, but ſubſtitutes another in its room, which

p De Comit. Rom. c. 2.

more

more had voted in his favor, he would have been acquitted by reaſon of the equality of votes, as the law required.

is as little founded on the Greek language, and the Roman laws, as the other is on the Roman hiſtory. He ſuppoſes that ισοψηφια ſignifies, in the Greek authors, not only, an equal number of votes, but an equal force, an equal authority in the ſuffrages, although the number of them be not equal; *pas ſeulement un nombre égal de voix et de ſuffrages, mais une égale force, une égale authorité dans les ſuffrages; quoyque le nombre n'en ſoit pas égal.* From this poſition, for which he neither has, nor pretends to have, any authority, he concludes that, as Marcius had nine tribes in his favor, if two other tribes had come to their ſupport, the law would have ſaved him; becauſe the law gave to the eleven tribes, as he ſays, that would, then, have acquitted him, an authority equal to That of the twelve tribes, that condemned him. Note, that le Jay has, all along, contended, and endeavoured to prove, that there were only twenty one tribes in being, when Coriolanus was tried; and, now, he makes them twenty three. But he goes on, and ſays that the law, here mentioned by Dionyſius, did not allow a criminal to be condemned, who had but one vote more againſt him, than for him. Here, le Jay aſſumes a higher character; and, as in the capacity of a critic, he gave a ſignification to a word, which it, never, had before; ſo now, in That of a legiſlator, he has enacted a law, which, never before exiſted. I ſhould not have employed ſo much time in relating, much leſs in refuting, ſuch abſurdities, if his brother jeſuits, the journaliſts of Trevoux, had not dignified theſe very abſurdities with the title of [q] *ſubtil reflexions.* The only objection, that can be made to the alteration I contend for, is, that there were no more than twenty one tribes in being, when Coriolanus was tried. This ſuppoſition, I know, is embraced by ſeveral men of learning; notwithſtanding which, I cannot, after the moſt ſcrupulous examination of this queſtion, find any foundation for it. It is a ſubject, which is far from being cleared up with the certainty requiſite to enable any one to form a judgement either way. But, that I may conceal nothing from the reader's view, I ſhall ſtate every thing I can find relative to this queſtion. In the firſt place, [r] our author tells us that Servius Tullius (for I think it to no purpoſe to go back to the diviſions of the people made by Romulus) divided the city of Rome into four local tribes, called the *Palatina*, *Suburana*, *Collina*, and *Eſquilina*; and that [s] he, alſo, divided the whole country into a certain number of tribes, which he does not ſpecify; but quotes Fabius for ſaying it was divided into twenty ſix, and Venonius for alledging that it was divided into thirty one tribes. It is plain that he follows neither; ſince he ſays that, at the trial of Coriolanus, which happened ſo many years after, there were no more than twenty one, or, as I ſay, twenty two tribes. We are, therefore, at a loſs to

[q] See the preface. [r] B. iv. c. 14. [s] Id. ib c. 15.

LXV.

LXV. This was the firſt citation of a patrician to the tribunal of the people: And, from this time, it became cuſtomary

know how many ruſtic tribes Servius Tullius inſtituted. Neither do we hear any more of tribes, till the year of Rome 259, when [t]Livy ſays there were twenty one tribes at Rome; *Romae tribus una et viginti factae*, as Sigonius reads it, though all the other editions have *una et triginta*, as it was, alſo, in the epitome of the ſame book, till he himſelf altered it in his edition of Livy; and I find, by his note upon this paſſage, that the chief reaſon of his altering it, was, becauſe Dionyſius ſays that, at the trial of Coriolanus, which was but four years after, there were preſent twenty one tribes. This is begging the queſtion, againſt which I contend. And, in his [u] book, *de antiquo jure civium Romanorum*, he thinks the two tribes *Cruſtumina*, and *Ocriculana* were added at the time Livy means. That they were Roman tribes, I do not in the leaſt doubt, but rather believe them to have been two of the ruſtic tribes inſtituted by Servius Tullius; becauſe the towns, from which they took their names, had, before that time, been conquered by the Romans. After this, that is, after the year 259, we find, by Livy, that many tribes were inſtituted at different times, no leſs than twelve, and two more, in the epitome of his nineteenth book; that is, the *Velina*, and *Quirina*. If this was in Livy himſelf, and not in the epitome, it would weaken, though not deſtroy, what I have ſaid; becauſe the conſequence would be that, by ſuppoſing Coriolanus to have been tried by twenty two tribes, I make thirty ſix tribes in all; whereas, it is well known, that their number, never, exceeded thirty five. But it is certain, and muſt be allowed that the epitome of Livy was not written by Livy; becauſe there are many errors in it, which Livy was not capable of committing. But I have ſomething more to ſay againſt the authority of this epitome, with relation to theſe two tribes. The name of one of them, viz. *Quirina*, is inſerted by Sigonius in the room of *Eſquilina*, as it ſtands in all the other editions, which was the name of one of the old city tribes: However, it is ſcarce poſſible, but ſome of theſe fourteen tribes might have had two names; and, if that happened to have been the caſe but of one of them, my purpoſe is anſwered; and, then, there will not be, even according to my own hypotheſis, above thirty five tribes in all. I muſt beg of the reader not to look upon the ſuppoſition I have made to be calculated only to anſwer an objection: There is frequent mention made, in ancient monuments, of Roman tribes, that are not to be found in any authors; as, the tribes *Horatia*, *Papia*, and *Camilla*; and, in later times, we find the tribes *Julia*, *Flavia*, and *Ulpia*, called ſo in compliment to Auguſtus, Veſpaſian, and Trajan, which were only new names given to old tribes; ſince it is certain, as I ſaid, that the Romans, never, had but thirty five tribes. I know it may be ſaid that, if there were twenty two tribes,

[t] B. ii. c. 21. [u] P. 19.

for

for thoſe, who were, afterwards, inveſted with the tribunitian power, to ſummon any of the citizens they thought fit to appear before the people, in order to be tried by them. From this beginning, the power of the people roſe to a great height; while the ariſtocracy loſt much of its ancient dignity by admitting the plebeians into the ſenate, and allowing them to ſtand candidates for magiſtracies; by not oppoſing their being inveſted with the prieſthood, and by

tribes, there could be no caſting vote: But I anſwer that, in criminal caſes, when the tribes were, equally, divided, the offender would have been acquitted; and, in civil conteſts, the motion would have been rejected. [w] Ariſtotle gives many ſubtil reaſons in favour of this law; one of which I ſhall lay before the reader in his own words: Ετι μειζω μεν αδικει ὁ εκ προνοιας αδικων η ὁ μη εκ προνοιας. Ο μεν δη συκοφαντων αει εκ προνοιας αδικει· ὁ δε ἑτερον τι αδικων, τα μεν δι' αναγκην· τα δε δι' αγνοιαν· τα δε, ὁπως ἑτυχεν αδικειν αυτῳ συμπιπτει. Οταν δε ισαι γενωνται αἱ ψηφοι, ὁ μεν διωκων κεκριται ὑπο των ἡμισεων εκ προνοιας αδικειν· ὁ δε φευγων, ὑπο των λοιπων αυ αδικειν μεν, ȣ μεντοι γε εκ προνοιας. Ωςε επει αδικειν μειζω κεκριται ὁ διωκων τȣ φευγοντος, εικοτως ὁ νομοθετης νικᾳν εκρινε τον τα ελαττω αδικȣντα. "Beſides, the man, who offends with "premeditation, is a greater delin- "quent than he, who offends without "premeditation. Now, the calumnia- "tor always offends with premedia- "tion: Whereas, the perſon, who is "guilty of any other crime, ſome- "times offends through neceſſity; "ſometimes through ignorance; and "at others, as he may happen to of- "fend. When, therefore, the votes "are equal, the proſecutor is judged "by half the votes to offend with pre- "meditation; and the defendant is "judged by the reſt to offend indeed, "but not with premeditation. So "that, ſince the proſecutor is judged "to be a greater delinquent than the "defendant, the legiſlator wiſely de- "termined that the leſſer delinquent "ſhould have the advantage over the "greater." The law, here, mentioned by Dionyſius, was borrowed from the Greeks by the Romans, and, from theſe, by the greateſt part of the weſtern world, where it is, ſtill, in uſe, as it is with us, upon many occaſions. *Praeſumitur pro negante* ſeems to be a maxim, generally, received. Euripides derives the inſtitution of this law from the trial of Oreſtes, before the areopagus for the murder of his mother Clytaemneſtra, when he was acquitted by an equality of votes; of which Minerva gives this account [x];

ȣνεκ' εξεσωσα σε,
Και πριν γ' Αρειοις εν παγοις ΨΗΦΟΥΣ ΙΣΑΣ
Κρινασ', Ορεςα, και νομισμ' εις ταυτο γε
Νικᾳν, ΙΣΗΡΕΙΣ ὁςις αν ΨΗΦΟΥΣ λαβῃ.

[w] Problem. Sect. 29. Queſt. 13.

[x] Iphig. in Taur. ỳ. 1469.

communicating to all the moſt conſiderable of their other dignities, even thoſe, that were peculiar to the patricians; ſome of which conceſſions they yielded to through neceſſity, and againſt their will, and to others through foreſight, and wiſdom: All which I ſhall mention at a proper ſeaſon. However, this cuſtom, I mean That of citing the men of power at Rome to a trial, where the people were judges, might afford a ſubject for many reflexions to thoſe, who are diſpoſed either to commend, or blame it: For it is certain that many brave, and good men have been treated in a manner unworthy of their virtue, and have ſuffered a ſhameful, and miſerable death, at the inſtigation of the tribunes. On the other ſide, many men of arrogant, and tyrannical diſpoſitions, being compelled to give an account of their lives, and conduct, have ſuffered the puniſhment they deſerved. When, therefore, theſe inquiries have been purſued with the beſt intentions, and the pride of the great was, juſtly, humbled, this inſtitution appeared grand, and admirable, and met with general applauſe: But, when a virtuous, and able ſtateſman was put to death through envy, and contrary to juſtice, the reſt of the world were ſhocked at the inſtitution, and the authors of it deteſted. The Romans have, often, deliberated whether they ſhould repeal this inſtitution, or preſerve it in the ſame vigor they had received it from their anceſtors; but never came to any reſolution. If I may be allowed to give my own opinion in affairs of ſo great moment, I look upon the inſtitution, conſidered by itſelf, to be advantageous, and, abſolutely, neceſſary to the Roman commonwealth;

but

but that it is good, or bad, according to the different characters of the tribunes: For, when this power falls into the hands of juſt, and prudent perſons, who prefer the intereſt of the public to their own, the man, who has injured his country, when puniſhed in the manner he deſerves, ſtrikes terror into the minds of all, who are prepared to commit the like crimes; while the worthy man, who acts in the adminiſtration with the moſt upright intentions, is in no danger of being brought to an ignominious trial, or accuſed of crimes inconſiſtent with his conduct: But the contrary of all this happens, when wicked, abandoned, and intereſted men are inveſted with ſo great a power. So that, inſtead of reforming the inſtitution, as faulty, they ought to conſider by what means good, and worthy men may be placed at the head of the people, and that a truſt of the greateſt importance may not, injudiciouſly, be conferred on men of no character.

LXVI. Theſe were the cauſes, and this was the event of the firſt ſedition, that happened among the Romans after the expulſion of their kings. I have related all the circumſtances of it in an extenſive manner; to the end that no one may wonder how the patricians could ſubmit to inveſt the people with ſo great a power, without being terrified into it by the murder, or baniſhment of the moſt conſiderable of their order; both which have happened in many other citites: For, when extraordinary events are related, every one deſires to know the cauſe, that produced them, and conſiders That alone, as the ſource of their credibility. I reflected, there-

fore, that the relation I have given of this tranſaction would have gained little, or no credit, if I had contented myſelf with ſaying that the patricians reſigned their power to the plebeians, and that, when they might have maintained the ariſtocracy, they inveſted them with the greateſt prerogatives, and had omitted the motives, that induced them to come into theſe conceſſions: For which reaſon, I have related them all. And, ſince they did not make this change in their government by compulſion, and force of arms, but by perſuaſion, I thought it, abſolutely, neceſſary to inſert the ſpeeches, which the heads of both parties made upon that occaſion. I am ſurpriſed to find that ſome hiſtorians think themſelves obliged to give an exact account of military tranſactions, and, ſometimes, throw away many words in the relation of a ſingle battle, in deſcribing the ſituation of the places, the particular arms, the diſpoſition of the armies, the exhortations of the generals, and every other circumſtance, that contributed to the victory on either ſide; but, when they come to give an account of civil commotions, and ſeditions, they think themſelves under no obligation of relating the ſpeeches, by which extraordinary, and wonderful events were brought to paſs: For, if any thing in the Roman commonwealth deſerves to be admired, and to be imitated by all mankind, this circumſtance, in my opinion, deſerves it, or rather ſurpaſſes, in its luſtre, all the great things, which moſt deſerve our admiration, that, neither the plebeians, in contempt of the patricians, took arms againſt them, and, after murdering many of the beſt men, ſeized all their fortunes; nor,

on

on the other ſide, the men in power, by their own forces, or, by foreign aſſiſtance, deſtroyed all the plebeians, and, after that, lived in the city without moleſtation: But, conferring together upon their common rights, like brothers with brothers, or children with their parents in a well governed family, they put an end to their conteſts by perſuaſion, and a communication of their thoughts, and, never, allowed themſelves to commit any irreparable, or wicked action againſt one another; ſuch as the Corcyraei were guilty of at the time of their ſedition; and, alſo, the Argivi, the Mileſii, and all Sicily, as well as many other commonwealths. For theſe reaſons, therefore, I choſe to make my narration rather accurate, than ſhort; but, let every one judge of my conduct, in this particular, as he thinks fit.

LXVII. This having been the event of the trial, the people went away, extravagantly, elated, and thought they had deſtroyed the ariſtocracy. On the other ſide, the patricians were confounded, and dejected, and complained of Valerius, by whoſe perſuaſion they had been induced to leave the trial to the people; and thoſe, who conducted Marcius home, lamented, and ſhed tears, in commiſeration of his misfortune; but he himſelf was ſeen neither to bewail, nor lament his own fate, or to ſay, or do the leaſt thing unworthy the greatneſs of his mind. When he went home, and ſaw his wife, and mother tearing their robes, beating their breaſts, and uttering ſuch lamentations as are natural to women in the like calamities, when they ſee themſelves upon the point of being ſeperated from their deareſt relations by

by death, or baniſhment, he ſhewed ſtill greater fortitude, and reſolution, and was unmoved at their tears, and their lamentations; but, only ſaluted them; and, exhorting them to ſupport their misfortunes with firmneſs, he recommended his ſons to them; the eldeſt of whom was ten years old, and the youngeſt, in arms; and, without ſhewing any other marks of tenderneſs, or taking any thing with him, that might be of uſe to him in his baniſhment, he haſtened to the gates of the city, acquainting no one to what place he propoſed to retire.

LXVIII. A few days after this, the time came for the election of magiſtrates, when Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus, and Spurius Lartius Flavus were created conſuls, the laſt being choſen for the ſecond time. The city was, this year, greatly alarmed with prodigies: For unuſual ſights were ſeen by many, and voices were heard, uttered by no man; births, both of children, and cattle, extremely unnatural, incredible, and monſtrous were ſaid to have happened; oracles were given in many places, and women, poſſeſſed with a divine fury, foretold miſerable, and dreadful misfortunes to the commonwealth; a kind of contagious diſtemper was, alſo, felt by the people, and deſtroyed great numbers of cattle: However, not many men died of it, the miſchief going no farther than a malady. Some were of opinion that theſe things proceeded from the will of the gods, who were angry with them for having baniſhed the moſt deſerving of all their citizens; others, that nothing, which had happened was the work of Heaven, but that both theſe, and all other human

human events were fortuitous. Afterwards, a certain perſon, whoſe name was Titus Latinus, being ill, was brought to the ſenate in a litter; he was a man advanced in years, and of a competent fortune, but worked with his own hands, and paſſed the greateſt part of his life in the country: This perſon, being brought into the ſenate, affirmed that the Capitoline Jupiter had, as he thought, appeared to him in a dream, and ſaid, "Go, Latinus, and let your fellow-citizens know "that, in the late proceſſion, they did not give me an ac- "ceptable [27] leader of the dance; let them renew the "feſtivals, and perform others from the beginning, for I "have not accepted theſe:" He added, that, when he waked, he diſregarded the viſion, and looked upon it as a common, and deceitful dream; that, afterwards, the ſame apparition of the god preſenting itſelf to him, again, in his ſleep, was angry, and diſpleaſed with him for not having acquainted the ſenate with the orders he had received, and threatened him that, if he did not preſently do it, he ſhould learn, by the experience of ſome great calamity, not to neglect ſupernatural injunctions: That he had no better opinion of the ſecond dream, than of the firſt; and, at the

27. Τον ἡγεμενον ορχησην. [y] Livy calls this dancer, *praeſultatorem*. I believe, or, at leaſt, hope, that the generality of my readers will be as much tired with reading prodigies, as I am with tranſlating them; or, which is better, that they will ſkip over the prodigies, till they find ſomething more worthy of their attention: If a tranſlator had the ſame liberty, I am very ſure I ſhould make uſe of it. The noble, though partial, hiſtory of the Earl of Clarendon is, alſo, diſcoloured with a dream, as I have ſaid, not very unlike to this: However, all authors may be aſſured that the moſt effectual way to lull their readers aſleep is to talk to them of dreams. It is as contagious as gaping in company.

[y] B. ii. c. 36.

ſame

ſame time, was aſhamed, being a perſon, who worked with his own hands, and an old man, to talk to the ſenate of ominous, and frightful dreams, for fear of being laughed at: However, a few days after, he ſaid, his ſon, who was young and beautiful, died, ſuddenly, without ſickneſs, or any other apparent cauſe of death: After this, the god, again, appeared to him in his ſleep, and ſaid that he had, already, been puniſhed in part, for his contempt, and neglect of the orders he had received, by the loſs of his ſon, and ſhould ſoon feel other puniſhments: That, when he heard this, he received the threats with pleaſure, and, being weary of life, deſired to die; however, that the god did not inflict this puniſhment on him, but ſent ſuch intolerable, and ſharp pains into all his limbs, that he could not move a joint without the greateſt torment: Being in this condition, he communicated what had happened to his friends; and, by their advice, was come to the ſenate. While he was giving this account, his pains ſeemed to leave him by degrees; and, after he had related every thing, he roſe from the litter; and, having invoked the god, walked home through the city in perfect health.

LXIX. Upon this, the ſenate were full of fear; every one was aſtoniſhed, and at a loſs to gueſs what was meaned by the god, and who ſhould be the leader of the dance in the proceſſion, who appeared unacceptable to him. At laſt, one of them, remembering the thing, related it to the reſt, and all of them confirmed it by their teſtimony. It was this: A Roman citizen of no obſcure condition, having ordered

one

one of his ſlaves to be put to death, delivered him to his companions to lead him to his puniſhment; and, with a view to render the chaſtiſement the more exemplary, he directed them to drag him through the forum, and every other conſpicuous part of the city, as they whipped him; and that he ſhould go before the proceſſion, which the Romans were, at that time, performing in honor of that god. The men, ordered to lead the ſlave to the place of puniſhment, having extended both his arms, and faſtened them to two pieces of wood, which reached croſs his breaſt, and ſhoulders as far as his wriſts, followed him, tearing his naked body with whips: The criminal, ſubdued by the ſeverity of ſuch treatment, cried out; and, not only, uttered execrations, ſuggeſted by the torture, but threw himſelf into indecent contorſions at every ſtroke. All thought this man to be the unacceptable dancer, ſignified by the god.

LXX. Since I am come to this part of the hiſtory, I ought not, in my opinion, to omit any thing performed by the Romans on the occaſion of this feſtival: In this, I have no deſign to render my narration more agreeable by the addition of theatrical entertainments, and florid diſcourſes, but to prove ſomething neceſſary, which is, that the nations, who joined in founding the city of Rome, were Greek colonies, ſent out from places of the greateſt repute; and not, as ſome imagine, Barbarians, and vagabonds: For I promiſed at the end of the firſt book, which I compoſed, and publiſhed concerning their origin, that I would prove what I, then, advanced, by a great number of arguments,

drawn from their ancient cuſtoms, laws, and inſtitutions, which they preſerve to this day, ſuch as they received them from their anceſtors: For I am of opinion that it is not enough for thoſe, who write ancient, and local hiſtories, faithfully to relate facts, as they have received them from the inhabitants of the country; but that they ought, alſo, to ſupport thoſe facts by many indiſputable teſtimonies, if they expect their relations ſhould find credit. Among theſe teſtimonies, I look upon the firſt, and the moſt conſiderable of all others to be the ceremonies relative to the eſtabliſhed worſhip of the gods, and genius's, which are performed in every city: Theſe, both the Greeks, and Barbarians, have preſerved for the greateſt length of time, and have, never, thought fit to make any innovation in them, being reſtrained from it by their fear of the divine anger; this fear makes the greateſt impreſſions upon the Barbarians for many reaſons, which I do not think this a proper opportunity to alledge; and no length of time has, hitherto, induced either the Egyptians, the Libyans, the Celtae, the Scythians, the Indians, or any other Barbarous nations whatever, to abandon, or tranſgreſs any thing relating to the worſhip of their gods; unleſs ſome of them have been ſubdued by a foreign power, and compelled to exchange their own inſtitutions for Thoſe of the conqueror. Whereas, the Roman commonwealth, never, experienced ſuch a misfortune; but has herſelf, always, given laws to others. If, therefore, the Romans had been, originally, Barbarians, they would have been ſo far from abandoning their firſt rites, and the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed in

their

their country, by which they had arrived to ſo great proſperity, that they would, even, have made it the [28] intereſt of all their ſubjects to worſhip the gods, according to the Roman ceremonies; and, if they themſelves had been Barbarians, nothing could have hindered all Greece, which has, now, been ſubject to the Romans near [29] ſeven generations, from being rendered Barbarous by them.

28. Εν καλῳ καλεσησαν. I do not think that any of the tranſlators have given the ſenſe of this paſſage. Sylburgius has paraphraſed it. Portus has ſaid, *aliis omnibus, quibus imperabant, praeclarum fore exiſtimaſſent.* Le Jay has rendered it, *ils ſe feroient fait un devoir de faire honorer leurs dieux*; and M. *** *il ſe feroient fait un devoir d'introduire leurs cérémonies.* Nothing of all this gives the ſenſe of theGreek text. Εν καλῳ ſignifies *opportunely, advantageouſly.* [z] Thucydides uſes it in the laſt ſenſe, when he ſays, Εν καλῳ εδοκει ἡ μαχη εσεσθαι; which is, very well, explained by the Greek ſcholiaſt, επι συμφερονλι. To apply this to the paſſage before us; I think it very plain that οἱ Ρωμαιοι εν καλῳ καλεσησαν τοις αλλοις ἁπασιν ὡν ηρχον τας θεας τοις σφετερους τιμαν νομιμοις, ſignifies that the Romans would have made it the intereſt of all their ſubjects to honour the gods, as they honoured them; that is, to embrace their religion. This is a piece of policy, by which moſt princes of Europe, at this day, regulate their conduct. I wiſh they would ſtop here, and not perſecute thoſe, who refuſe to conform to the religion of their courts, where there is, ſeldom, any to be found.

29. Εβδομην γενεαν. I find here a note of Glareanus in Sylburgius, which M. *** has tranſlated without the leaſt acknowledgement. In this note, Glareanus thinks theſe generations ought to be computed from the victory gained by the Romans over Perſeus, king of Macedon, or from the end of the ſecond Punic war, when, he ſays, the Romans had ſome footing in Greece. I cannot approve of either of theſe aeras. The firſt is not early enough: And the little the Romans poſſeſſed in Greece at the laſt aera does not deſerve the application of the word κρατυμενον: So that, I would rather date the conqueſt of Greece from the conſulſhip of L. Furius Purpureo, and M. Claudius Marcellus, which fell out in the year of Rome 558; when T. Quinctius Flamininus, after he had defeated Philip of Macedon at Cynoſcephelae, cauſed that famous decree to be publiſhed at the Iſthmian games. By this decree, all the Greek cities, which had been under the dominion of Philip, were declared free: [a] *Senatus populuſque Romanus liberos, immunes, ſuis legibus eſſe jubet:* Then follow the names of the cities, that were to enjoy this noble benefit. Sure no nation,

[z] B. v. c. 59. [a] Livy, B. xxxiii. c. 32.

LXXI. The ceremonies, now practiſed by the Romans, might, poſſibly, be looked upon by others as no ſmall indications of their ancient inſtitutions. But, leſt any one ſhould think this a weak argument, and continue to ground their opinion on this improbable notion, that, after the Romans had conquered all Greece, they might forſake their own cuſtoms, and, willingly, embrace others, that were better, I ſhall deduce my proof from the time, when they were not yet maſters of Greece, or of any other country on the other ſide of the ſea: and ſupport it by the authority of Quintus Fabius, without having recourſe to That of any other author: For he is the moſt ancient of all the Roman hiſtorians, and proves what he aſſerts, not only, from the information of others, but, alſo, from his own knowledge. This feſtival, therefore, the Roman ſenate, ordered to be celebrated, as I ſaid, purſuant to the vow made by the dictator, Aulus Poſtumius, when he was upon the point of giving battle to the Latines, who had revolted from the Romans, and were endeavouring to reſtore Tarquinius to the ſovereignty: In conſequence of this vow, they ordered [30] five hundred minae of ſilver to be expended, every year, in the ſacrifices, and the games; and this ſum the Romans laid out on the feſtival, till the time of the

ever, uſed their victory with ſo much generoſity. Livy ſays this proclamation raiſed ſuch an ecſtacy of joy in the minds of all the Greeks, who were preſent at theſe games, that they could ſcarce contain it: They cauſed the proclamation to be read again, and, by their repeated acclamations, made it evident, that, of all benefits, liberty is the greateſt.

30. Πενταχοσιας μνας. 1614 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d.* of our money. See the twenty ſecond annotation on the fourth book.

Punic

Punic war: And, during theſe holidays, many things were performed, according to the cuſtoms of the Greeks, ſuch as the general aſſemblies, the reception of ſtrangers, and the ceſſation of hoſtilities; all which it would take up a great deal of time to deſcribe; but ſuch as relate to the proceſſion, the ſacrifice, and the games (for from theſe a judgement may be formed of thoſe I have not mentioned) are as follows.

LXXII. Before the games began, the principal magiſtrates performed a proceſſion in honor of the gods, from the capitol through the forum to the great Circus: Thoſe, who led the proceſſion, were the ſons of the Romans, approaching to manhood, and of an age to bear a part in this ceremony, who marched on horſeback, if their fathers were intitled, by their fortunes, to be knights; while the others, who were deſigned to ſerve in the infantry, went on foot; the former in ſquadrons, and troops, and the latter in batallions, and companies, as if they were going to their place of exerciſe; to the end that ſtrangers might ſee the number, and beauty of theſe youths, who were growing to be men able to ſerve their country. Theſe were followed by charioteers, ſome of whom drove chariots drawn by four horſes in front, and ſome chariots drawn by two, while others rode unyoked horſes: After theſe, came the [31] combatants both in the light, and heavy games, all naked except their middle.

31. Οι των Αθλημάτων αγωνισται. Αθλητὰι is a general word in Greek, and ſignifies all the gymnic combatants, as wreſtlers, runners, boxers, etc. Και οἱ γυμνικοι μεν κυριως αθλητὰι καλουνται, ſays [b] Julius Pollux.

[b] B. iii. Segm. 145.

This

This cuſtom continues, even to this day, at Rome as it was, originally, practiſed by the Greeks; but it is, now, aboliſhed in Greece, the Lacedaemonians having put an end to it: The firſt perſon, who attempted to appear naked, and ran, in that condition, at the Olympic games, in the fifteenth Olympiad, was Acanthus, the Lacedaemonian: For, before that time, all the Greeks were aſhamed to appear, intirely, naked in the games, as Homer, the moſt credible, and the moſt ancient of all witneſſes, ſhews by introducing his heroes girded with cinctures: Thus, when he is deſcribing the wreſtling of Ajax, and Ulyſſes at the funeral of Patroclus, he ſays, *they* [32] *girded themſelves, and advanced to the middle of the liſt:* This he makes ſtill plainer in the Odyſſey, upon the occaſion of the boxing between Irus, and Ulyſſes, in theſe verſes;

[32] Τω δε ζωσαμενω βητην ες μεσσον αγωνα. I ſuppoſe our author quoted this verſe of Homer upon memory; becauſe, in reality, the latter applies it to the boxing match between Epeus, and Euryalus; and not to the wreſtling between Ajax, and Ulyſſes, to which he applies the following verſe [c];

Ζωσαμενω δ' αρα τωγε βατην ες μεσσον αγωνα.

This was ſcarce worth taking notice of; neither ſhould I have mentioned it, had it not been to ſhew the great implicitneſs, which the French tranſlators pay all along to their guides, the Latin tranſlators. Hudſon calls the verſe, quoted by our author, the 685th, in which they have followed him: But, if either Hudſon, or they, had read the context in Homer, they would have found the two verſes to have been applied in the manner I have mentioned. I am ſo great an admirer of Pope's tranſlation of the Iliad, that I ſhould, certainly, have given the reader his tranſlation of this verſe, as I ſhall of the others, which our author will, preſently, quote, if he had not, I ſuppoſe to avoid a repetition, left out of his tranſlation the very circumſtance, for which our author quotes this verſe, I mean, the word ζωσαμενω. However, he has not omitted it a little before, where he has, very properly, rendered

ζωμα δε οι πρωτον παρακαββαλεν,

Officious with the cincture girds him round.

Though the reader will find that he has, afterwards, left out μολπης ξαρχοντες.

[c] Iliad. ψ. ϋ. 710.

Then,

Then, girding his ſtrong loins, the king prepares
To cloſe in combat, and his body bares;
Broad ſpread his ſhoulders, and his nervous thighs
By juſt degrees, like well turn'd columns riſe;
Ample his cheſt, his arms are round and ſtrong.

Pope.

And, when he introduces the beggar unwilling to ingage, and, through fear, declining the combat; he ſays, *Thus they ſpoke; But Irus ſickened with fear; however, the ſuitors forced him, even in this condition, to be girded, and dragged him trembling to the combat.* Thus it is plain that the Romans, who preſerve this ancient Greek cuſtom to this day, did not learn it from us afterwards, nor, even, change it in proceſs of time, as we have done. The combatants were followed by bands of dancers, in three diviſions; the firſt conſiſting of men; the ſecond, of youths; and the third, of boys; theſe were accompanied by players on the flute, who made uſe of ancient flutes, ſmall and ſhort, ſuch as are uſed at this time; and by players on the lyre, who ſtruck ivory lyres with ſeven ſtrings, called βαρβίτα, *barbita*; the uſe of which is left off, at this day, among the Greeks, though practiſed by their anceſtors; but preſerved by the Romans in all the ancient ceremonies relating to their ſacrifices: The dancers were dreſſed in ſcarlet veſts, girded with braſs cinctures, from which hung their ſwords, and, in their hands, they carried ſpears ſhorter than ordinary; the men had, brazen helmets, adorned with beautiful creſts, and plumes: Each band had its leader, who preſcribed the figure of the dance to the reſt, and, generally, repre-

repreſented warlike, and quick motions, in the [33] time he beat. This, alſo, was a very ancient Greek inſtitution, I mean, the armed dance, called the *Pyrrhic*; whether it was invented by Minerva, who firſt began to lead bands of dancers, and to dance in arms upon the deſtruction of the Titans, in order to celebrate the victory by this token of her joy, or whether the Curetes, ſtill earlier introduced it, when, nurſing Jupiter, they deſired to divert him by the claſhing of arms, and the motion of their limbs in time, according to the fable. Homer ſhews, in many places, the antiquity of this alſo, and that it was a national cuſtom among the Greeks; but, particularly, in enumerating the ornaments of the ſhield, which, he ſays, Vulcan made a preſent of to Achilles: For, having repreſented in it two cities, one flouriſhing in peace, the other ſuffering by war, in That, on which he has beſtowed the happier fate, he deſcribes feſtivals, marriages, and entertainments, the natural effects of happineſs, ſaying,

33. Ρυθμοις. The ſignification of this word is ſo much altered, that we have almoſt loſt the original ſenſe of it. In Greek, it ſignifies *time*, not *tune*; and modern languages have reduced the word to ſignify the bane of all poetry, *rime*. We have, indeed, almoſt ſhaken off this monkiſh yoke; at leaſt, we have baniſhed it from the ſtage; where it is, ſtill, in ſo great admiration in France, that, not only, tragedies, but comedies, alſo, muſt be in rime: Nay I have been told in France, that the *Miſanthrope* of Moliere, one of the beſt comedies, that, ever, appeared in any language, was written by him in proſe, and dreſſed in rime to pleaſe the extraordinary taſte of his countrymen. This is the more ſurpriſing, becauſe it muſt be allowed that the French dramatic poetry, for regularity, decency, and every thing but ſtrength, excels all the performances of that kind, which our country, or any other has produced, ſince the reſurrection of letters. If an Engliſh reader would allow me to render εν τοις προκελευσμαϊκοις ρυθμοις, *in proceleuſmatic rythms*, as M. * * * has ſaid, *en rythmes proceleuſmatiques*, it would ſave a tranſlator a great deal of trouble.

The

The youthful dancers in a circle bound,
To the ſoft flute, and cittern's ſilver ſound:
Through the fair ſtreets, the matrons in a row
Stand in their porches, and enjoy the ſhow.

Pope.

And, again, in deſcribing another Cretan band of dancers, that conſiſted of youths, and maidens, with which the ſhield was adorned, he ſpeaks in this manner;

A figur'd dance ſucceeds; ſuch as was ſeen
In lofty Gnoſſus, for the Cretan queen,
Form'd by Daedalean art. A comely band
Of youths, and maidens, bounding hand and hand.

Pope.

And, in deſcribing the dreſs of theſe dancers, in order to ſhew that the youths danced in arms, he ſays;

Of thoſe the locks with flow'ry wreaths inroll'd,
Of theſe the ſides adorn'd with ſwords of gold,
That glitt'ring gay from ſilver belts depend.

Pope.

And, when he introduces the leaders of the dance, who preſcribed the figure of it to the reſt, and began it, he ſays;

The gazing multitudes admire around;
Two active tumblers in the center bound;
Now high, now low, their pliant limbs they bend,
And gen'ral ſongs the ſprightly revel end.

Pope.

It is, not only, from the warlike, and ſerious dance, which the Romans employed in their ſacrifical ceremonies, and proceſſions, that any one may obſerve their affinity to the Greeks, but, alſo, from That, which is ſatyrical, and jocoſe: For, after the armed bands, others marched in proceſſion, perſonating ſatyres, and repreſented a Greek dance, called [34] *Sicinnis*: Thoſe, who perſonated the Sileni, were dreſſed in hairy veſts, called by ſome, [35] *Chortaei*, and in mantlets of various flowers: And thoſe, who repreſented ſatyres, had cinctures, and wore ſkins of goats; and, on their heads, the manes of ſome animals ſtanding upright, with other things of the like nature: Theſe rallied, and mimicked the ſerious motions of the others by counterfeiting them ridiculouſly. The triumphal proceſſions, alſo, ſhew that raillery, and ſatyrical jokes were an ancient, and national entertainment among the Romans: For the ſoldiers, who attend the triumphs, are allowed to ſatyrize, and ridicule the moſt conſiderable men, without ſparing their generals, in the ſame manner as the Athenians, who rode in proceſſion in carts formerly, were permitted to rally every one they met: Now, they ſing extemporary verſes: And I have ſeen, even, in the funerals of illuſtrious perſons, bands of dancers perſonating ſatyres, who, together with the reſt of the ſhow,

34· Σικιννιν. I ſhall lay before the reader the account, given by the author of the *Etymologicum magnum*, of the ſatyrical dance, called by the Greeks, Σικιννις. That author ſays it was σαλυρικη ορχησις· εμμελεια δε, τραγικη· κορδαξ δε, κωμικη. ωρηται δε σικιννις παρα το σειεσθαι, και κινεισθαι· η απο Σικανε τε Αθηναιων βασιλεως· οι δε απο τε παιδαγωγε των Θεμιστοκλεος παιδων Σικανε.

35· Χορδαικες. Χορδαιος is, thus, explained by Suidas, and other lexicon writers, λασυς και μαλλωδης χιτων. It is derived from χορδος, which ſignifies *hay*.

preceded

preceded the bier, and imitated, in their motions, the dance, called Sicinnis, which is, particularly, practiſed in the funerals of the rich: And, that this ſatyrical manner of rallying, and the dance, I have ſpoken of, was not the invention either of the Ligures, the Umbri, or of any other Barbarians, who inhabited Italy, but of the Greeks, I ſhall not go about to prove, leſt I ſhould, even, diſguſt my readers in endeavouring to confirm, by more arguments, a thing, univerſally, allowed. After theſe bands of dancers, came a great number of players on the lyre, and the flute: And, after them, the perſons, who carried the cenſers, in which perfumes and frankincenſe was burned all the way they went; and, alſo, the men, who bore the pageants made of gold, and ſilver, both Thoſe, that were appropriated to religion, and Thoſe, that belonged to the public. The images of the gods cloſed the proceſſion; they were borne on mens ſhoulders; and appeared in the ſame ſhape with Thoſe made by the Greeks, and had the ſame habits, the ſame ſymbols, and preſents, of which each of them is ſaid to have been the inventor, and the giver to mankind: Theſe were the ſtatues, not only, of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Neptune, and of the reſt, whom the Greeks reckon among the twelve; but, alſo, of Thoſe [36] more ancient, of whom the fables ſay the twelve were born

36. Αλλα και των προγενεστερων. The reader will find by many paſſages in Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, that the Greeks borrowed the names of almoſt all their gods, and the whole ſyſtem of their abſurd religion from the Egyptians; whoſe country was the ſchool of mankind for two things ſeemingly inconſiſtent, learning, and ſuperſtition. How the moſt learned nation, of all others, came to be the moſt ſuperſtitious, contrary to reaſon, and contrary to experience in all other parts of the world, is not ſo eaſy to be

(as of Saturn, Rhea, Themis, Latona, The Deſtinies, Mnemoſyne, and of all the reſt, to whom temples, and holy

accounted for: The ſolution may be this; that the learning, and the ſuperſtition were in different hands: For I imagine that the prieſts had learning without ſuperſtition; and the laity ſuperſtition without learning. To this it may be objected, that, if the laity had ſuperſtition, they learned it from their prieſts; no doubt; but, we are not to conclude, that, becauſe the prieſts taught ſuperſtition, they were themſelves ſuperſtitious; on the contrary, many paſſages in the ancient writers give us great reaſon to believe, and hope, that, in the earlieſt times, they were Deiſts; and, when they, afterwards, taught ſuperſtition, they preached, not the doctrine they believed, but the doctrine they were to live by; becauſe they were ſenſible that ſyſtems, and ceremonies would afford a more abundant crop to the prieſthood, than a religion, which, inſtead of wanting, deſpiſes the foppery of both. If I ſaid that the Egyptians were, originally, Deiſts, I am juſtified in it by [d] Lactantius, whoſe words I ſhall quote at length. In ſpeaking of Thot, or Thoth, whom we find by Sanchoniathon in [e] Euſebius to have invented letters, contrary to the opinion of many divines, who have a great mind that Moſes ſhould be eſteemed the inventor of them, he ſays, *Hic ſcripſit libros, et quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus majeſtatem ſummi ac ſingularis* DEI *aſſerit: iiſdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos,* DEUM, *et* PATREM: *ac ne quis nomen ejus requireret,* ανωνυμον *eſſe dixit, eo quod nominis proprietate non egeat, ob ipſam ſcilicet unitatem: Ipſius haec verba ſunt,* ὁ δε Θεος εἰς, ὁ δε εἰς ονομαλος ϗ προσδεεῖαι. ἐϛι γαρ ὁ ων ανωνυμος. *Deo igitur nomen non eſt, quia ſolus eſt; nec opus eſt proprio vocabulo, niſi cum diſcrimen exigit multitudo, ut unamquamque perſonam ſuâ notâ et appellatione deſignes; Deo autem, quia ſemper unus eſt, proprium nomen Deus.* This was the religion taught by this great Egyptian philoſopher, and legiſlator; [f] in honor to whom the Egyptians called the firſt month of their year by his name. It is, now, impoſſible to know when he lived; but, by a quotation of [g] Euſebius from Sanchoniathon, it appears that his laws were written on pillars, and copied by Mercurius Triſmegiſtus in hieroglyphical, or hierogrammatical characters *after the flood:* Though I am much afraid that theſe laſt words, μετα τον καλακλυσμον, are not the words, or the ſenſe of the words, uſed by Sanchoniathon. This I ſay, becauſe every one, who is converſant with the manner of Euſebius, muſt know that he is a very unfair quoter; and, if Sanchoniathon had given an account of the flood, we ſhould have heard of it from him in at leaſt as ample a manner, as the other had related it. This, however, we may gather from his quotation, that Thot lived, at leaſt, a thouſand, and nobody knows how many thouſand, years be-

[d] B. i. c. 6. [e] De praepar. evang. B. i. c. 9, 10. [f] Cicero De Nat. Deor. B. iii. c. 22.
[g] De praepar. evang. B. i. c. 9, 10.

places

places are dedicated among the Greeks; and of thoſe, who are fabled to have lived afterwards, from whom Jupiter received the kingdom) and of Proſerpina, Lucina, the Nymphs, the Muſes, the Seaſons, the Graces, Bacchus, and the Demigods, whoſe ſouls, after they had left their mortal bodies, are ſaid to have aſcended to Heaven, and to have obtained the ſame honors with the gods; ſuch as Hercules, Aeſculapius, Caſtor and Pollux, Helena, Pan, and many others. But, if the founders of Rome, and the inſtitutors of this feſtival had been Barbarians, what could have induced them to abandon their national gods, and genius's, and to worſhip all Thoſe of the Greeks? Or, let any one ſhew any other people beſides the Greeks, among whom this was the eſtabliſhed worſhip; and, then, let him cenſure this proof, as groundleſs. After the proceſſion was ended, the conſuls, and the prieſts, to whom it was allowed, with their aſſiſtants, preſently ſacrificed oxen. The manner of which ſacrifice was the ſame as with us: For, after they had waſhed their hands, and purified the victims with clear water, they ſprinkled flower on their heads, and prayed; and, then, gave orders to their miniſters to ſacrifice them: Some of whom, while the victim was yet ſtanding, ſtruck it on the temples with a club; others received it, as it fell, upon knives, made for that purpoſe: After which, they flayed it, and cut it up,

fore Moſes, in whoſe time, as it appears from numberleſs paſſages in the Pentateuch, the Egyptians had exchanged the noble inſtitutions of Thot for a wretched idolatry; and, by another paſſage in the [h] Scripture, it alſo appears that even the Iſraelites themſelves had, during their ſervitude in Egypt, caught the infection, and were become idolaters.

[h] Joſhua, c. xxiv. ℣. 14.

taking

taking off a piece from each of the inwards, and from every limb, as a firſt offering; which they ſprinkled with the flower of barley, and carried to the ſacrificers in baſkets: Theſe placed them on the altars; and, making a fire under them, poured wine upon them, while they were burning. It is eaſy to collect from Homer's writings, that every one of theſe ceremonies was performed according to the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed by the Greeks in relation to ſacrifices: For he introduces the heroes both waſhing their hands, and uſing barley cakes, where he ſays; *Then they waſhed their hands, and took up barley cakes:* And, alſo, cutting off the hair from the head of the victim, and placing it on the fire, ſaying thus: *But he, beginning the ſacrifice, threw the hair of the head into the fire.* He, alſo, repreſents them ſtriking the foreheads of the victims with clubs, and ſtabbing them, when they were fallen, as in the ſacrifice of Eumaeus:

A knotty ſtake then aiming at his head,
Down dropp'd he groaning, and the ſpirit fled:
The ſcorching flames climb round on ev'ry ſide.

Pope.

He ſays alſo, that they took the firſt offerings from the inwards, and the limbs, and ſprinkled them with flower, and burned them upon the altars, as in the ſame ſacrifice: *The ſwine-herd took the firſt offerings from all the limbs, and, wrapping them up in the fat, laid them upon the altar, while they were yet raw; then, ſtrewing them with flower, he threw them into the fire.*

Theſe

Theſe things I am acquainted with, by having ſeen the Romans perform them, even in my time; and, contented with this ſingle proof, I am convinced that the founders of Rome were not Barbarians, but Greeks, aſſembled together from many places: It is, indeed, poſſible that ſome Barbarians, alſo, may perform a few cuſtoms, relating to ſacrifices, and feſtivals, in the ſame manner with the Greeks; but, that they ſhould obſerve all theſe, is not to be believed.

LXXIII. It, now, remains for me to give a ſhort account of the games, which the Romans performed after the proceſſion: The firſt was a race of chariots, drawn by four horſes in front, and by two, and of unyoked horſes, as it was practiſed by the Greeks, anciently, at the Olympic games, and is ſo to this day. In the chariot races, two very ancient cuſtoms are, to this very time, obſerved by the Romans, in the ſame manner as they were, firſt, inſtituted; one of which relates to the chariots drawn by three horſes, which is, indeed, diſuſed by the Greeks, though an ancient, and heroical inſtitution, which Homer ſays the Greeks uſed in battle: For to the two horſes that were yoked, in the ſame manner as when chariots are drawn by two, a third was added in front, that was faſtened to the chariot by traces; which horſe the ancients called, [37] Παρηορον, *an additional horſe*, becauſe he was faſtened, and

37. Παρηορον. Caſaubon has a note upon this word, which le Jay has tranſlated without taking the leaſt notice of him. In this note, Caſaubon contends that the led horſes, introduced by the emperor Theophilus, and called, by the Greeks of thoſe times, συρῖκες ἵπποι, took their riſe from the ancient Greek cuſtom of adding a third horſe in front, called παρηορος, to the two, called ζυγιοι. It is true that this third horſe was, alſo, called σειραιος: But this word, which is derived from σειρα, has not the leaſt analogy with

joined

joined to the others. The other inſtitution is the race, run by thoſe perſons, who ſate with the charioteers; which is, ſtill, obſerved in a few Greek cities upon the occaſion of ſome ancient ſacrifices: For, after the horſe races were ended, thoſe, who ſate with the charioteers, whom the poets call [38] Παραβάλας, and the Athenians Αποβάλας, leap from their chariots, and run with one another in the ſtadium: So that, when the horſe races were over, thoſe, who contended in their own perſons, entered the liſts, that is, the foot racers, the boxers, and the wreſtlers: For theſe were the three games in uſe among the ancient Greeks, as Homer ſhews in the funeral of Patroclus. And, in the intervals

συρὸς, which is derived from συρω: The uſe, alſo, of theſe horſes was as different as their names. The ἱππος παρηορος, or σειραιος, was faſtened to the chariot, and drew with the two others: Whereas, the συρὸς ἱππος was no other than what we call a led horſe. In [i] Homer, the chariot of Achilles was drawn by three horſes, Xanthus, Balius, and Pedaſus; the laſt of which was the ἱππος παρηορος we are conſidering.

Τῳδε καὶ Αὐτομεδων ὑπασε ζυγον ωκεας ἱππους,
Ξανθον καὶ Βαλιον, τω ἁμα πνοιῃσι πετεσθην.
. . . . . .
Εν δε παρηορίῃσιν ἀμυμονα Πηδασον ἱει.

After this, poor Pedaſus is killed by Sarpedon; and, falling, puts the other two horſes in diſorder; but Automedon drew his ſword; and, by cutting the traces of Pedaſus, ſet every thing right again,

Σπασσαμενος τανυηκες ἀορ παχεος παρα μηρου,
Αἶξας ἀπεκοψε ΠΑΡΗΟΡΟΝ [k].

38. Παραβάλας. This is, indeed, the word uſed by the Greek poets, or rather παραιβάλαι, for the ſake of the metre; but the word is, ſtill, the ſame. [l] Homer diſtinguiſhes the παραιβάλαι from the ἡνιοχοι, when he is ſpeaking of the Myrmidons, who, by the order of Achilles,

Αν δ' εβαν εν διφροισι παραιβάλαι, ἡνιοχοι τε.

The three games, preſently ſpoken of by Dionyſius, ſucceed the chariot race in Homer, though not, exactly, in this order; which I mention, becauſe Glareanus ſeems to think that our author ſuppoſed the chariot race to have been one of them: Whereas, nothing can be plainer than that he ſays theſe three did not begin, till the horſe races were ended; τελεσθεντων δε των ἱππικων δρομων.

[i] Iliad π. ϒ. 148. [k] Ib. ϒ. 473. [l] Ib. Ψ. 132.

between

between the games, they obſerved a cuſtom the moſt agreeable to the genius of the Greeks, and the moſt commendable of all others, which was, to crown the perſons, and proclaim the names, of thoſe they honoured as their benefactors (as it was practiſed at Athens, during the feſtivals of Bacchus) and expoſe to the view of all the ſpectators the ſpoils they had taken in war. But, concerning theſe things, as it would not have become me to make no mention of them, when the ſubject required it; ſo it would be improper to extend the relation farther than is neceſſary. It is, now, time to return to the narration we have interrupted. After the ſenate were informed of all the circumſtances relating to the ſlave, who had been led to puniſhment by the order of his maſter, and had preceded the proceſſion, by the perſon, who remembered what had happened upon that occaſion, they concluded that this man was the unacceptable leader of the dancers, pointed out by the god, as I ſaid; and, inquiring after the maſter, who had uſed his ſlave ſo cruelly, they puniſhed him as he deſerved; and ordered another proceſſion to be performed in honour of the god, and other games to be exhibited, at double the expence of the former. And theſe were the tranſactions of this conſulſhip.

The end of the Seventh book.

THE

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

OF

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE EIGHTH BOOK.

THE conſuls, who were choſen after theſe, were Caius Julius Iulus, and Publius Pinarius Rufus, who entered upon their magiſtracy in the ſeventy third Olympiad, at which Aſtylus of Croton won the prize of the ſtadium, Anchiſes being archon at Athens; Theſe magiſtrates, who were not, in the leaſt, warlike men, and, for that reaſon chiefly, had obtained the conſulſhip from the people, were, contrary to their inclination, ingaged in many great dangers; a war breaking out in their magiſtracy, which had like to have deſtroyed the commonwealth from its foundation: For Marcius Coriolanus, who had been accuſed of aiming at tyranny, and condemned to perpetual baniſhment, reſenting his misfortune, and, at the ſame time, deſiring to revenge himſelf upon his enemies, conſidered by what means, and by the forces of what nation, he might effect it; and found that the Volſci were, at that time, the only

only people, whoſe power was able to encounter That of the Romans, if they could be brought to unite, and make war upon them under an able general. He concluded, therefore, that, if he could prevail on the Volſci to receive him, and to give him the command of the war, his deſign would eaſily, and preſently, be brought to bear. On the other ſide, his hopes were checked by the conſideration of the calamities he had often brought upon them in battle, and in forcing many cities to forſake their alliance. However, the greatneſs of the danger did not deter him from the attempt; on the contrary, he reſolved to ruſh into theſe very dangers, and ſuffer whatever might be the conſequence. Taking the advantage, therefore, of a dark night, he went to Antium, the moſt conſiderable city of the Volſci, at the time when the inhabitants were at ſupper; and, going into the houſe of a man in power, who, by reaſon of his birth, his riches, and his military actions, had a high opinion of himſelf, and, generally, led the whole nation, whoſe name was Tullus Attius, he became his ſupplicant, and [1] ſate down at the

ANNOTATIONS on the Eighth BOOK.

[1] Καθεζομενος επι της ἑστιας. Caſaubon has ſhewn great ſagacity in reading καθεζομενος, inſtead of καθεζομενη, as it ſtands in all the editions; this does him the greater honor, as it is plain he had never ſeen the Vatican manuſcript, where we find καθεζομενος: Caſaubon juſtifies his correction by [2] Thucydides, who, in ſpeaking of Themiſtocles, when he fled to Admetus, king of the Moloſſians; who, not being at home, his wife inſtructed him what he was to do, in order to gain the protection of her huſband, ſays, ὁ δε, της γυναικος ἱκεσιος γενομενος, διδασκεται ὑπ' αὐτης τον παιδα σφων λαβων καθεζεσθαι επι την ἑστιαν, or, rather, as I think, επι της ἑστιας. Caſaubon goes on, and confirms his reading by quotations from many other authors, which I think it need-

[2] B. i. c. 136.

foot of the altar consecrated to his houshold gods: Then, having related to him the necessity, which had reduced him to fly to his enemies, he begged of him to entertain sentiments of moderation, and humanity with regard to a person, who was become his supplicant, and, no longer, to look upon that man as an enemy, who was in his power; nor to exert his strength against the unhappy and the humbled; but to consider that the fortunes of men are not permanent. "This, says he, you may learn, in a particular manner, "from myself, who was, once, looked upon as the most "considerable person in the most renowned city, and am, "now, deserted, banished, reduced to an abject condition, "and exposed to any treatment you, who are my enemy,

less to repeat, since we are in possession of the true reading by the assistance of the Vatican manuscript. M. *** has taken all these authorities from Casaubon verbatim, and adorned himself with his spoils, without the least acknowledgement to the bird, whose plumes he borrowed: However, I thought it a piece of justice to strip the jackdaw, and to restore the gaudy feathers to the right owner. To what I have quoted from Casaubon, I shall add a word, or two of my own, concerning the signification of the word ἑστια, because I do not think that either *focus* in the Latin, or *foyer* in the French, translators, explains the sense of it in this place: For, neither of those words signifies any thing more than *a fire*, or *a hearth*; whereas the proper signification of ἑστια was *an altar* erected in every house to the *Dii Penates*: This is explained by [b] Cicero: *Quid est sanctius, quid omni religione munitius, quam domus uniuscujusque civium? Hic* arae *sunt, hic foci, hic dii Penates, hic sacra, religiones, caeremoniae continentur: Hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde abripi neminem fas sit.* This ἑστια Ulysses, in [c] Homer, calls upon to witness to the truth of what he is saying,

Ιστιη τ' οδυσηος αμυμονος, ἡν αφικανω.

Where ιστιη, or ἑστια, is, very properly, explained by the Greek scholiast, ὁ βωμος της ἑστιας. In this sense also, Hobbes, who, seldom, mistakes his author, has translated καθεζεσθαι επι της ἑστιας in the passage I quoted from Thucydides, *and sit down at the altar of the house.*

[b] Pro dom. c. 41.

[c] Odyss. Ξ. ψ. 1[illegible]

"shall

"ſhall think fit to inflict upon me. But I promiſe you that "I will perform as great ſervices to the Volſci, if I become "their friend, as I occaſioned calamities to them, when I "was their enemy: However, if you reſolve upon my ruin, "let looſe your reſentment at once, and grant me the "ſpeedieſt death, by ſacrificing a ſupplicant with your own "hand, and at the foot of your own altar."

II. While he was yet ſpeaking, Tullus gave him his hand; and, raiſing him from the altar, deſired he would aſſure himſelf that he ſhould not be treated in a manner unworthy of his virtue; and ſaid he thought himſelf under great obligations to him for coming to his houſe, and ſhewed that he looked upon even This as no ſmall honor: He promiſed him, alſo, that he would make all the Volſci his friends, and begin with his own fellow-citizens: All which promiſes he made good. Soon after, Marcius, and Tullus conferred together in private, and came to a reſolution to begin a war againſt the Romans. Tullus propoſed to put himſelf, immediately, at the head of all the Volſci, and march to Rome, while the Romans were yet divided, and had unexperienced generals. On the other ſide, Marcius inſiſted that they ought firſt to lay a pious, and juſt foundation for the war; and ſhewed him that the gods interpoſed in all tranſactions, particularly in Thoſe relating to war, by how much they are of greater conſequence than any others, and ſubject to uncertain events. It happened that there was, at that time, a ceſſation of arms, and a truce ſubſiſting between the Romans, and the Volſci, and alſo, a treaty for

two

two years, lately entered into between them: "If, there-
"fore, you make war upon them inconſiderately, ſays he,
"and with precipitation, you will be the cauſe of the
"treaties being diſſolved, and Heaven will not be propitious
"to you: Whereas, if you ſtay till they do this, you will
"be thought to act upon the defenſive, and to puniſh them
"for their breach of treaty. How this may be effected,
"and by what means they may firſt violate this treaty, and
"we ſeem to make war upon them with piety, and juſtice,
"I have diſcovered, after long conſideration. [2] It is neceſſary
"the Romans ſhould be deceived by us, and be led, by that
"deceit, firſt to tranſgreſs the law of nations. The manner
"of this deceit (which I have, hitherto, concealed in ex-
"pectation of a proper ſeaſon to put it in practice; but,
"ſeeing you, now, eager for action, I am forced to diſcloſe
"it ſooner than I propoſed) is this: The Romans are going
"to perform ſacrifices, and exhibit very magnificent games,
"at a great expence: At which great numbers of ſtrangers
"will be preſent, as ſpectators. When this time comes, go

[2] Δει δε ὑφ' ἡμων αὐτὸς ἐξαπαληθηναι. This is a poor ſubterfuge in Coriolanus, and ſtrange advice from a man, who had, juſt before, ſaid that Heaven would not be propitious to the Volſci, if they were the aggreſſors in the war; as if there could be any difference between taking arms againſt the Romans, and circumventing them by this mean device: The end of both was the ſame, that is, to force the Romans into a war, and the means he employed to effect that end, was, of the two, the leaſt honourable. But he ſeems throughout to have been ſo far blinded by his reſentment againſt his country, as to ſacrifice every conſideration to his deſire of revenge: The impetuoſity of this paſſion made him tranſgreſs the moſt important maxim of political morality, which renders it infamous, in the higheſt degree, for any man, how unjuſtly ſoever he may have been treated by his country (which, by the way, was not his caſe) even to aſſiſt her enemies with his counſel, much more to take arms againſt her.

"thither

" thither yourſelf, and ingage as many of the Volſci as you " can, to go alſo, and ſee the games: And, when you are " at Rome, ſend one of your friends you can moſt con- " fide in, to the conſuls, and let him acquaint them, pri- " vately, that the Volſci have formed a deſign to attack " the city in the night; and that it is with this view they " are come to Rome in ſo great numbers: For you may be " aſſured that, if they hear this, they will expel you the city " without heſitation, and furniſh you with a motive for a " juſt reſentment."

III. When Tullus heard this, he was highly pleaſed; and, putting off the deſign of a preſent expedition, employed himſelf in preparing for the war. When the day, appointed for the commencement of the feſtival, was come, Julius, and Pinarius, having, already, entered upon their magiſtracy, the choiceſt youth of the Volſci came from every city, at the deſire of Tullus, to ſee the games: And the greateſt part of them were obliged to lie in tents ſet up both in the ſacred, and public places; neither the houſes of public entertainment, nor Thoſe of the Romans, with whom they had an intercourſe of hoſpitality, ſufficing for their reception: And, when they walked in the ſtreets, they appeared in bodies, and companies: So that, there was, already, a report in the city, and ſtrange ſuſpicions raiſed concerning them. In the mean time, the informer, ſuborned by Tullus purſuant to the advice of Marcius, went to the conſuls; and, pretending that he had a ſecret practice to reveal to his enemies againſt his friends, he bound the conſuls by oaths,

as

as well in regard to his own ſafety, as that none of the Volſci ſhould know who had given the information againſt them: After which, he gave an account of the pretended treachery. The conſuls gave credit to the relation, and immediately ſummoned all the ſenators, man by man; and the informer, being brought before the ſenate, and, having received from them, alſo, the ſame aſſurances, he confirmed the account he had given. The ſenators had, even long before, looked upon it as a circumſtance full of ſuſpicion, that ſuch numbers of young men ſhould come to ſee the games from one nation, who were their enemies: But, by the acceſſion of this information, the deceit of which they were ſtrangers to, their opinion was turned into certainty. The reſolution, therefore, they all came to, was, to ſend the men out of the city before ſunſet, and to order proclamation to be made, that all, who refuſed to obey, ſhould be put to death; and that the conſuls ſhould take care that, in departing, they ſhould neither be inſulted, nor expoſed to any danger.

IV. After the ſenate had paſſed this order, ſome went through the ſtreets giving notice to the Volſci to depart the city immediately, and that they ſhould all go out at one gate, which was That called Capena; while others, together with the conſuls, conducted them in their departure: And, as they all went out of the city at the ſame time, and at the ſame gate, it appeared, by that means, how numerous they were, and how fit they were all for ſervice. Tullus firſt went out with great expedition; and, making a ſtand at a proper

proper place, not far from the city, he received thoſe, who came after him: And, when they were all together, he harangued them, uſing many invectives againſt the Romans, and ſhewed that the inſult the Volſcians had received from them was heinous, and inexpreſſible, they being the only ſtrangers, who were driven out of Rome: He deſired that every man would publiſh theſe proceedings in the cities, to which he belonged, and take proper meaſures to put a ſtop to this inſolence of the Romans, by puniſhing them for their unwarrantable behaviour: After he had ſaid this, and ſharpened the reſentment of the Volſci, who were, already, exaſperated at the uſage they had met with, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly. When they returned home, every one related to his fellow-citizens the inſult he had received, with aggravations, which inflamed all the cities to that degree they were unable to contain their reſentment: And, ſending to another, they appointed a general aſſembly of the Volſcian nation, in order to conſult in common concerning the war: All this was done, chiefly, at the inſtigation of Tullus. And the magiſtrates from every city, together with great multitudes of other people, aſſembled at Echetra (for this city ſeemed the moſt conveniently ſituated for a general aſſembly) and, after many ſpeeches were made by the magiſtrates of the cities, the votes of all preſent were taken; and it was carried to begin the war, ſince the Romans had firſt violated the treaty.

V. After the magiſtrates had propoſed to the aſſembly to conſider in what manner they ought to carry on the war

againſt them, Tullus preſented himſelf, and adviſed them to call in Marcius, and inquire of him by what means the power of the Romans might be ſubverted: For he knew, better than any man, both the weakneſs, and the ſtrength of that commonwealth. This was approved of; and preſently they all cried out to call in the man. Then Marcius, having the opportunity he deſired, roſe up with grief in his looks, and tears in his eyes; and, after a ſhort pauſe, ſpoke as follows: "If I thought you all entertained the ſame "opinion of my misfortune, I ſhould not think it neceſſary "to make any apology for it; but, when I conſider that, "among many men of different characters, it is probable "ſome may be poſſeſſed with an opinion, neither true in "itſelf, nor deſerved by me, that the people of Rome did "not baniſh me without a real, and juſt cauſe, I think "myſelf obliged, above all things, firſt to clear my conduct "in a public manner, and before you all, from any impu-"tation relating to my baniſhment: But, I conjure you, "by the gods, that even thoſe among you, who are beſt "acquainted with what I have ſuffered from my enemies, "and beſt know that I have not deſerved this misfortune, "will allow me to proceed, and that you will not deſire to "be adviſed what you are to do, before you have inquired "into the character of the adviſer. The account I ſhall give "of theſe things will be ſhort, though I ſhould date it from "their beginning. The original conſtitution of the Romans "was compoſed of monarchy, and ariſtocracy: Afterwards, "Tarquinius, their laſt king, thought fit to change the "govern-

" government to a tyranny: For which reaſon, the leading " men of the ariſtocracy, entering into an aſſociation againſt " him, expelled him the city; and, taking upon themſelves " the adminiſtration of the public affairs, formed ſuch a " ſyſtem of government, as all men acknowledge to be the " beſt and wiſeſt. But, not long after, that is, within three, " or four years, the pooreſt and idleſt of the citizens, excited " by bad leaders, committed many inſolences, and, at laſt, " endeavoured to ſubvert the ariſtocracy. Upon this, all the " leading men of the ſenate grew uneaſy, and thought " proper to conſider of the means to repreſs the inſolence " of theſe diſturbers of the government. Of all the ſup- " porters of the ariſtocracy, Appius, a man, who, on many " accounts, deſerves to be commended, moſt diſtinguiſhed " himſelf among the elder ſenators, as I myſelf did among " the younger: And, upon every occaſion, we ſpoke with " freedom in the ſenate, not ſo much with a view of making " war upon the people, as from a jealouſy leſt the government " ſhould fall into the hands of the worſt citizens; neither " did we deſire to inſlave any of the Romans, but to pre- " ſerve the liberty of all, and that the power might be re- " ſtored to the beſt men.

VI. " This being obſerved by thoſe moſt pernicious " leaders of the people, they reſolved to remove us two, " who moſt profeſſedly oppoſed them, firſt out of their way, " not by attacking us both at once, leſt the attempt ſhould " appear both invidious and odious, but to begin with me, " who was the younger, and the eaſier to be oppreſſed.

" In the firſt place therefore, they endeavoured to deſtroy " me without a trial; and, after that, they required to have " me delivered up by the ſenate in order to be put to death: " But, being diſappointed in both, they ſummoned me to " a trial, in which they themſelves were to be my judges, " and charged me with aiming at tyranny: They did " not conſider that tyrants never make war upon the " people in conjunction with the beſt men; but, on the " contrary, deſtroy the beſt men in conjunction with the " people: Neither did they ſuffer the people aſſembled in " their centuries to be my judges, according to the eſta- " bliſhed cuſtom, but appointed ſuch an aſſembly to try me, " as all allow to conſiſt of the moſt profligate judges, a " tribunal erected againſt me, and me alone, in which " labourers, vagabonds, and thoſe, who form deſigns " againſt the poſſeſſions of others, were ſure to prevail over " good and juſt men, and ſuch as aim at the ſafety of " the commonwealth. And ſo far was I from appearing " guilty of any crime, that, though tried by the populace, " of which the greateſt part were enemies to virtue, and, " for that reaſon, to me, I was [3] condemned by two votes " only, while the tribunes threatened to reſign their power, " if I was acquitted, alledging that they expected the

[3] Δυσι μονον ἐλαττοσι ψηφοις. Marcius, like an able orator, artfully extenuates the number of votes, that condemned him, and yet advances nothing, that is not literally true: For, though nine votes only acquitted, and thirteen condemned, him, yet it is true that, if two of thoſe thirteen votes had come over to him, there would, then, have been eleven for him, and as many againſt him, and, conſequently, as our author has already told us, he would have been acquitted by reaſon of the equality of votes, as the law required. See the twenty ſixth annotation on the ſeventh book.

" worſt

" worſt of treatment from me, and, with all eagerneſs and " paſſion, preſſed my condemnation. After I had been thus " treated by my fellow-citizens, I thought my future life " would prove a ſcene of miſery to me, unleſs I took re- " venge on them: And, for this reaſon, when I was at " liberty to live, with eaſe, either in any of the Latin cities " I thought fit by reaſon of our conſanguinity, or in the " colonies lately planted by our fathers, I declined it; and " choſe rather to fly to you, whom I knew to have received " the greateſt injuries from the Romans, and to entertain " the greateſt reſentment againſt them; to the end that, in " conjunction with you, I might take revenge on them to " the utmoſt of my power both by my words, where words " were wanted, and, by my actions, where they were ſo. " And I think myſelf much obliged to you for the reception " you have given me, and ſtill more for the honor you ſhew " me, without either reſenting, or conſidering, the miſchiefs " you received from me during the wars.

VII. " What character, then, ſhould I deſerve, if, deprived " as I am of the glory, and honors I ought to have received " from my fellow-citizens, to whom I have rendered great " ſervices, and, beſides, driven away from my country, my " family, my friends, from the gods, and ſepulchres of my " anceſtors, and from every other enjoyment; and if, finding " all theſe among you, whom I have made war againſt for " their ſake, I ſhould not annoy thoſe, who have behaved " themſelves to me like enemies, inſtead of fellow-citizens, " and ſerve thoſe, who have ſhewn themſelves my friends,

" inſtead

" inſtead of enemies? For, whoever entertains neither re-
" ſentment againſt thoſe, who ſeek his ruin, nor affection
" for thoſe, who endeavour his preſervation, deſerves not,
" in my opinion, the name of a man. I acknowledge not
" that nation for my country, which has renounced me,
" but That, of which, though a ſtranger, I am become a
" citizen; nor the country, in which I have been injured,
" as my friend, but That, in which I find my ſecurity.
" And, if I am aſſiſted by Heaven, and ſeconded by you
" with all the alacrity I have reaſon to expect, I hope there
" will be a great, and ſudden change: For you know that
" the Romans, after the experience of many enemies, fear
" none more than you; neither is there any thing they
" have ever fought more earneſtly, than the means of weak-
" ening your nation. And, to this end, they have poſſeſſed
" themſelves of ſome of your cities by force in time of
" war, and deluded others to ſubmit to them by vain
" promiſes of their friendſhip, leſt all of you ſhould unite,
" and ingage in a common war againſt them. If, therefore,
" you perſiſt in your reſolution of counteracting their deſigns
" with vigor, and all unite in carrying on the war, as you
" now ſeem determined to do, you will eaſily put an end to
" their power.

VIII. " As to the operations of the war, and your con-
" duct in this enterpriſe, ſince, from your opinion either of
" my experience, or affection to you, or both, you deſire
" that I ſhould give my advice, I ſhall give it, without
" concealing any thing. In the firſt place, therefore, I adviſe

" you

" you to conſider by what means you may find a pious, and
" juſt cauſe of war: Hear then, what cauſe of war will,
" not only, be pious and juſt, but profitable to you at the
" ſame time: The country, which, originally, belonged to
" the Romans, is of ſmall extent, and barren; but That,
" which they have acquired by robbing their neighbours, is
" large and fertil: And, if each of the injured nations ſhould
" redemand their own, nothing would be ſo inconſiderable,
" ſo weak, and ſo diſtreſſed, as the Roman ſtate. Of this
" you ought, I think, to ſhew the example: Send, there-
" fore, embaſſadors to them to demand reſtitution of your
" cities they are in poſſeſſion of; to deſire them to evacuate
" all the ſtrong places they have erected in your country,
" and to perſuade them to reſtore every thing elſe belonging
" to you, which they have uſurped by force. But, commence
" not the war, till you have received their anſwers: For, if
" you follow this advice, you will obtain one of the two
" things you deſire; you will either acquire reſtitution of
" all, that belongs to you, without danger, and expence;
" or be furniſhed with an honourable, and a juſt cauſe of
" war. For, not to covet the poſſeſſions of others, but to
" redemand one's own, and, not obtaining it, to declare war,
" will, by all men, be allowed an honourable proceeding.
" What reſolution, then, do you think the Romans will
" take, if you purſue my advice? Do you think they will
" reſtore the places to you? If they do, what ſhould
" hinder them from relinquiſhing every thing, that belongs
" to others? For the Aequi, the Albans, the Tyrrhenians,
" and

" and many others will come, each to redemand their own.
" Or do you think they will retain theſe places, and refuſe
" all your juſt demands? This is my opinion. Proteſting,
" therefore, that you have been firſt injured by them, you
" will, neceſſarily, have recourſe to arms; and you will have,
" for your allies, all, who, having been deprived of their
" poſſeſſions, deſpair of recovering them by any other means,
" than by a war: And Fortune has prepared for the in-
" jured an opportunity they could never have expected,
" and, of all others, the moſt favourable, of attacking the
" Romans, while they are divided, and ſuſpect one another,
" and while their generals are unexperienced in war. Theſe,
" therefore, are the things, which I thought proper to ſug-
" geſt to you, as to perſons I wiſh well to; and are delivered
" with all affection, and ſincerity. As to Thoſe, which it
" will be neceſſary to foreſee, and contrive upon every occa-
" ſion, when theſe deſigns are to be carried into execution,
" leave them to your generals: For you may depend upon
" my zeal for your ſervice, in whatever poſt you ſhall think fit
" to place me; and I ſhall endeavour to do my duty with
" no leſs bravery than any of your common ſoldiers, or
" your inferior, or ſuperior officers. Employ me, therefore,
" wherever I may be of any uſe to you; and be aſſured
" that, if, when I fought againſt you, I was able to do you
" great miſchief, when I fight on your ſide, I ſhall, alſo, be
" able to do you great ſervice."

IX. Thus Marcius ſpoke: And, while he was yet ſpeak-
ing, it was viſible that the Volſci heard him with admiration.
And,

And, after he had done, they ſignified their approbation of his advice by loud acclamations; and, ſuffering no one elſe to ſpeak, they confirmed it by a reſolution of the aſſembly. After the order was drawn up, they made choice of the moſt conſiderable men out of every city, and ſent them to Rome in quality of embaſſadors. And, as to Marcius himſelf, they voted that he ſhould be admitted into the ſenate in every city; be capable of the magiſtracy every where; and partake of all other honors, that were in the greateſt requeſt among them. And, without ſtaying for the anſwer of the Romans, they all went to work, and employed themſelves in warlike preparations; and every one, who had been, till then, dejected by their former defeats, grew, now, elated, in confidence of ſubverting the power of the Romans. In the mean time, the embaſſadors they had ſent to Rome, being introduced into the ſenate, ſaid that the Volſci were very deſirous of ſeeing an end put to their complaints againſt the Romans; and that, for the future, they might be friends and allies, without fraud or deceit: And that they ſhould look upon the reſtitution of the lands, and the cities, which had been taken from them, as a ſure pledge of their mutual friendſhip; otherwiſe, there could be neither peace, nor laſting friendſhip between them; the injured being by nature an enemy to the injurer: And they deſired the Romans not to reduce them to a neceſſity of making war, by refuſing them juſtice.

X. After the embaſſadors had done ſpeaking, the ſenators ordered them to withdraw; and held a conſultation among

themſelves: Then, having reſolved upon the anſwer they were to give, they called them again into the ſenate, and ſpoke to them as follows: "We are not ignorant, Volſci, "that you do not ſeek peace, but only a ſpecious pretence "for war: For you come to demand thoſe things of us, "which you well know you will never obtain, ſince your "demands are unjuſt and impoſſible. If, indeed, you had "delivered up theſe places to us, and, changing your minds, "came now to redemand them, it would have been unjuſt "not to reſtore them; but, being deprived of them by war, "and having, no longer, any right to them, you act unjuſtly "in coveting the poſſeſſions of others. As for us, we look "upon thoſe acquiſitions to be founded on the beſt title, "that are founded on our victories. We are not the firſt, "who have eſtabliſhed this law, neither do we look upon "it to flow from men, but from the gods. And, as "we know that all nations, both Greeks, and Barbarians, "make uſe of this law, we are reſolved to relax in nothing, "nor to relinquiſh any of our conqueſts: For it would ſhew "a great want of ſpirit in us to loſe, through fear and folly, "what we have acquired by virtue, and valor. We neither "force you into a war, if you do not deſire it; nor deprecate "a war, if you do: But, if you begin it, we ſhall defend "ourſelves. Return this anſwer to the Volſci; and let them "know that they will be the firſt to take up arms, and we "the laſt to lay them down."

XI. The embaſſadors, having received this anſwer, made their report to the commonwealth of the Volſci: Upon which,

which, another aſſembly being called, a decree paſſed, with the concurrence of the whole nation, to declare war againſt the Romans. After this, they appointed Tullus, and Marcius to command their armies with abſolute authority; and voted men to be levied, money to be raiſed, and preparations to be made of every thing they thought neceſſary for the war. When the aſſembly was going to be diſmiſſed, Marcius roſe up, and ſaid; "The votes of this aſſembly deſerve "commendation, and let them be carried into execution, "each in their own time: But, while you are raiſing men, "and making other preparations, which, in all probability, "will employ you for ſome time, and create delays, Tullus "and I will begin the work. As many of you, therefore, "as are willing to plunder the enemy's country, and to gain "a great booty, let them go with us. I undertake, with the "aſſiſtance of Heaven, to procure them many rich ſpoils: "For the Romans, obſerving that our forces are not yet "drawn together, are unprepared to receive us: So that, "we ſhall have an opportunity of overrunning as great a "part of their country as we pleaſe, without moleſtation."

XII. The Volſci approving this propoſal alſo, the generals marched out, immediately, at the head of a numerous army of voluntiers, before the Romans were informed of their deſign: With part of which Tullus invaded the territories of the Latines, in order to prevent them, by this diverſion, from ſending any aſſiſtance to the Romans; while Marcius led the remaining part of the army into the Roman territories. As this misfortune fell unexpectedly on the inhabi-

tants of the country, many Romans of free condition were taken, and many ſlaves, and no ſmall quantity of oxen, beaſts of burden, and other cattle. And, as to the corn that was left ſtanding, the iron tools, and other inſtruments, with which the land is tilled, ſome were carried away, and others deſtroyed: For the Volſci, at laſt, ſet fire to the country houſes; ſo that, it would be a long time, before the owners could repair them. The poſſeſſions of the plebeians ſuffered moſt upon this occaſion, while Thoſe of the patricians remained unhurt; or, if theſe received any damage, it fell only on their ſlaves, and cattle. For Marcius had given theſe orders to the Volſci, with a view of encreaſing the jealouſy of the plebeians againſt the patricians, and to keep the ſedition alive; which happened accordingly: For, when the Romans were informed of this devaſtation of their country, and that the calamity had not fallen on all alike, the poor clamoured againſt the rich, accuſing them of having brought Marcius againſt them; and the patricians ſaid in their defence, that this was ſome malicious artifice in the general: But neither of them put themſelves in a poſture, through mutual jealouſies, and fear of treachery, either to ſuccour that part of the country, which was laying waſte, or to preſerve That, which remained untouched. So that, Marcius had full liberty to return with his army, and to bring home all his men, after they had done as much damage as they thought fit, but ſuffered none, and inriched themſelves with a great booty. * Soon after, Tullus alſo arrived from the territories of the Latines, bringing with him

him a great number of ſpoils: For there the inhabitants, being unprepared, and the calamity falling upon them unexpectedly, were alſo unfurniſhed with an army to withſtand the enemy. By this means, all the cities of the Volſci were elevated with hopes; the army was raiſed, and every thing elſe the generals had occaſion for was ſupplied, ſooner than could have been expected.

XIII. When all their forces were aſſembled, Marcius conſulted with his collegue concerning the future operations of the war, and ſaid to him: "In my opinion, Tullus, it "will be beſt for us to divide our army into two bodies; "and that one of us take with him the ableſt, and braveſt "of our troops, and lead them againſt the enemy in order "to ingage them; and, if they do not decline the ingage-"ment, decide the conteſt by one battle; but, if they "are unwilling, as I think they will be, to commit the fate "of the war to a new raiſed army, and unexperienced "generals, then let him lay waſte their country; employ "their allies in their own defence; deſtroy their colonies, "and annoy them by every other means he can: And let "the other remain here, and defend both the country, and "the cities, leſt the enemy fall upon them unawares, if they "are unguarded, and we ourſelves ſuffer the moſt ſhameful "of all diſgraces in loſing what we have, while we are en-"deavouring to gain what we have not. It will be, alſo, "neceſſary that the perſon, who ſtays here, ſhould repair the "walls of the cities that are fallen down, cleanſe the ditches, "and fortify the caſtles, to ſerve as places of refuge for the "huſband-

" huſbandmen: He ſhould, alſo, raiſe another army; ſupply " the forces, that are in the field, with proviſions; prepare " arms, and furniſh, with expedition, every thing elſe, that " is neceſſary. Now I give you the choice, whether you will " command the army, that is to take the field, or That, " which is to remain here." While he was ſpeaking, Tullus was in admiration at his propoſal; and, knowing the activity, and good fortune of the man, yielded to him the command of the army, that was to take the field.

XIV. Marcius, without loſing any more time, marched with his army to the town of [4] Circeii, in which there was a Roman colony, who lived intermixed with the inhabitants, and made himſelf maſter of the town, as ſoon as he appeared before it. For, when the Circeienſes ſaw their country in the power of the Volſci, and their army approaching the walls, they opened their gates; and, coming out unarmed to meet the enemy, deſired them to take poſſeſſion of the town. This preſerved them from all irreparable miſchief: For the general cauſed none of the inhabitants to be put to death, or expelled the city: But, having taken clothes for his ſoldiers, and proviſions for a month, together with a moderate ſum of money, he drew off his forces, leaving a ſmall garriſon in the town, as well to preſerve the inhabitants from being ill treated by the Romans, as to reſtrain them from innovating for the future. The news of theſe tranſactions being brought to Rome, encreaſed the tumult, and diſorder; the patricians reproaching the people with having,

[4] Κιρκαιαν πολιν. See the ſeventy fourth annotation on the fourth book.

by

by a falſe accuſation, driven out of the city a great warriour, a man of activity, and of a generous ſpirit; and contrived to make him general of the Volſci. On the other ſide, the leaders of the people inveighed againſt the ſenate, and ſaid the whole affair was a piece of treachery formed by them, and that the war was not directed againſt all the Romans in general, but only againſt the plebeians: Theſe were ſupported by the moſt profligate among the people. But neither of them had ſo much as a thought of raiſing an army, of ſending to their allies for aſſiſtance, or making the neceſſary preparations; by reaſon of their mutual hatred, and their accuſations of one another, whenever the people were aſſembled.

XV. This being obſerved by ſuch of the Romans, as were moſt advanced in years, they aſſembled together, and perſuaded the moſt ſeditious of the plebeians, both in public, and in private, to put a ſtop to their jealouſies, and invectives againſt the patricians. Since, they ſaid, by the baniſhment of one man of diſtinction, the commonwealth was brought into ſo great danger, what were they to expect, if, by their abuſes, they forced the greateſt part of the patricians to entertain the ſame ſentiments? Theſe men appeaſed the diſorder. After this great tumult was ſuppreſſed, the ſenate met, and gave this anſwer to the embaſſadors, who were come from the commonwealth of the Latines to deſire ſuccours; that it was no eaſy matter for them to ſend aſſiſtance at preſent: However, that they gave them leave to raiſe an army themſelves, and chuſe their own generals, and

to

to ſend into the field an equal number of forces with the Romans: For, by the treaty of friendſhip they had made with the latter, both thoſe things were forbidden. At the ſame time, the ſenate ordered the conſuls to raiſe an army; to guard the city; and to call upon their allies to ſend them ſuccours; but not to take the field till all things were in readineſs. Theſe reſolutions were ratified by the people. By this time, the magiſtracy of the conſuls was near expiring: So that, they could execute none of theſe reſolutions, but left every thing half finiſhed to their ſucceſſors.

XVI. Theſe were Spurius Nautius, and Sextus Furius, who raiſed as great a number of Roman citizens as they poſſibly could, and placed beacons, and ſentries in the moſt convenient fortreſſes, to the end they might be acquainted with every thing, that paſſed in the country: They, alſo, raiſed money, and provided a great quantity of corn, and arms, in a ſhort time. By this means, all their domeſtic preparations were in ſo good a poſture, that nothing ſeemed to be wanting: But, their allies did not all obey their ſummons with alacrity; neither were they diſpoſed to aſſiſt them voluntarily in the war; and the conſuls did not think fit to compel them, for fear of treachery. Some of their allies had, even openly, deſerted them, and joined the Volſci. The Aequi ſet the example of this deſertion, as ſoon as the war was declared, by going preſently to the Volſci, and entering into an alliance with them, which they confirmed by their oaths: And theſe ſent to Marcius the moſt numerous army, and the beſt diſpoſed to aſſiſt him. After theſe had begun, many of

of their other allies, alſo, ſecretly aſſiſted the Volſci, and ſent them ſuccours, though not by virtue of any public order, or in the name of the commonwealth; but, if any of their people deſired to enter into the ſervice of Marcius, they were ſo far from diſſuading them from it, that they even encouraged it. So that, the Volſci had, in a ſhort time, a more numerous army than they had ever been maſters of in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate of their affairs. At the head of this army, Marcius made another irruption into the territories of the Romans; and, incamping there for many days together, laid waſte all that part of the country, which he had ſpared in his former expedition. However, he did not, in this inroad, take many perſons of free condition: For the inhabitants had, long before, retired with every thing that was moſt valuable; ſome to Rome, and others to ſuch of the neighbouring fortreſſes, as were moſt capable of defence. But he took all the cattle they had not been able to drive away, together with their ſervants, who tended them; and carried off all the corn, that lay upon the floors, and all the other fruits of the earth, whether then gathering, or already gathered. Having ravaged, and laid waſte the country, none daring to encounter him, he returned home with his army, now burdened with the multitude of ſpoils, by gentle marches.

XVII. The Volſci, ſeeing the vaſt quantity of the ſpoils, that were bringing home, and being informed of the puſillanimity of the Romans, who, having, till then, been uſed to ravage their neighbours country, could, now, bear to ſee

their own laid waſte with impunity, grew wonderfully elated, and conceived hopes of the ſovereignty, looking upon it as an eaſy, and a ready undertaking to ſubvert the power of their adverſaries. They offered ſacrifices to the gods, in thankſgiving for their ſucceſs, and adorned their temples, and public places with the ſpoils; and all paſſed their time in feſtivals, and rejoicings, in which they never ceaſed to admire, and celebrate Marcius, as a warriour, of all others, the moſt conſummate, and a greater general, than Rome, Greece, or any Barbarous nation had ever produced: But, above all, they admired him for his ſucceſs, ſeeing every thing he undertook eaſily ſucceeded according to his deſire: So that, no man, who, by his age, was capable of bearing arms, declined ſerving under him; but all were eager to ſhare in his actions, and flocked to him from every city. The general, after he had confirmed the zeal of the Volſci, and reduced the fortitude of the enemy to a low, and unmanly diſtreſs, led his army againſt the cities of their allies, who yet remained faithful to them: And, having, ſoon, prepared every thing, that was neceſſary for a ſiege, he marched againſt the [5] Tolerini, a Latin nation: Theſe, having, long before, made the neceſſary preparations for a war, and tranſported all the effects they had in the country, into the city, bravely received his attacks; and ſtood out ſome time, fighting from their walls, and wounding many of the enemy; till, being driven from thence by the ſlingers, and fatigued

5 Τολερινους. [d] *Toleria* was a city of the Latines ſituated near the frontiers of the Aequi.

[d] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

with

with a reſiſtance, which had laſted till night, they abandoned ſeveral parts of the wall. When Marcius was informed of this, he ordered ſome of the ſoldiers to plant ladders againſt thoſe parts of the walls, that were left naked; while he himſelf, with the choſen men of his army, ran to the gates, amidſt a ſhower of darts, that were thrown at him from the towers; and, breaking the bars aſunder, was the firſt who entered the city. Cloſe to the gates ſtood a large, and ſtrong body of the enemies troops: Theſe received him vigorouſly, and continued the combat for a long time; till many of them being killed, the reſt gave way; and, diſperſing themſelves, fled through the ſtreets. Marcius followed, putting all to death he could come up with, except thoſe, who, throwing down their arms, begged their lives: While this was doing, the men, who had aſcended by the ladders, made themſelves maſters of the walls. The town being taken in this manner, Marcius ſelected ſuch of the ſpoils, as were proper to be conſecrated to the gods, and to adorn the cities of the Volſci, and the reſt he gave to the ſoldiers. Many priſoners were taken, a great deal of money, and a conſiderable quantity of corn: So that, it was not eaſy for the conquerers to remove every thing in one day; but they were forced to employ much time, while they ſucceeded one another in carrying away ſome part of the ſpoils themſelves, and the reſt on beaſts of burden.

XVIII. The general, after all the priſoners, and effects were conveyed out of the city, left it deſolate, and drew off his forces to another town belonging to the

[6] Bolani: Theſe, alſo, had been apprized of his deſign to beſiege them, and prepared every thing, that was neceſſary for their defence. Marcius, who expected to take the town by ſtorm, made his attacks upon many parts of the wall at the ſame time. But the Bolani, watching a favorable opportunity, opened their gates; and, ſallying out with numerous forces, and in good order, attacked the front of the enemy; and, having killed many of them, and wounded more, and forced the reſt to a ſhameful flight, they retired into the city. When Marcius was informed that the Volſci were routed (for he happened not to be preſent, where this defeat happened) he came up in all haſte with a few of his men; and, rallying thoſe, who were diſperſed in the flight, formed them into a body, and encouraged them: Then, placing them in their ranks, he told them what they were to do, and ordered them to attack the town at the ſame gates. Here, the Bolani having recourſe to the ſame expedient, and ſallying out in great numbers, the Volſci did not ſtand their ground; but, giving way, fled down a declivity, purſuant to the orders of their general; and the Bolani, ignorant of the ſtrategem, purſued them a conſiderable way: When they were at a diſtance from the town, Marcius fell upon them with a body of choſen youth: Here many of the

6. Βωλανων. [e] *Bolae*, a city of the Aequi, as Cluver ſays, near the borders of the Latines, not far from Praeneſte. It has, long ſince, been ſo far deſtroyed, that no traces of it are to be found. I look upon *Volani*, in [f] Livy, to be an error of ſome late tranſcriber, who made uſe of a V, inſtead of a B; which miſtake crept in about the time, when the Greeks, then half Barbarians, changed the power of their B, to That of a V.

[e] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 16. [f] B. iv. c. 49.

Bolani

Bolani fell, ſome defending themſelves, and others endeavouring to eſcape. Marcius purſued thoſe, who were haſtening to the town, and forced his way in, before they could ſhut the gates. After the general had once made himſelf maſter of the gates, the reſt of the Volſci followed in great numbers. Upon this, the Bolani abandoned the walls, and fled to their houſes. Marcius, having poſſeſſed himſelf of this city alſo, gave leave to his ſoldiers to make ſlaves of the inhabitants, and to ſeize their effects: And, after he had carried away all the booty at his leiſure, and with full liberty, as before, he ſet fire to the town.

XIX. From thence, he marched with his army to [7] Labicum: This was, alſo, a city of the Latines; and, like the reſt, a colony of the Albans. In order, therefore, to intimidate the inhabitants, as ſoon as he entered their territories, he ſet fire to thoſe villages, the flame of which might, with the greateſt eaſe, be diſcerned by them. However, the Labicani, finding themſelves defended by a ſtrong wall, were neither aſtoniſhed at his invaſion, nor relaxed in any reſpect, but made a brave reſiſtance; and, often, repulſed the enemy, as they were ſcaling the walls. Notwithſtanding this, they were not able to reſiſt to the laſt, being but few in number, and obliged to oppoſe a large army without the leaſt reſpite: For many attacks were made upon all parts of the city by the Volſci,

7· Λαβικανῶς. [g] *Labicum*, a city of the Latines, fifteen Roman miles north eaſt of Rome, now called *Zagarola*. This city has, alſo, ſuffered the ſame treatment from thoſe ignorant tranſcribers, and is, by them, often written *Lavicum*.

[t] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

who

who ſucceeded one another; thoſe, who were fatigued, always retiring, and freſh forces taking their poſt. Againſt whom the inhabitants, fighting all day, and even all night without intermiſſion, were forced, through fatigue, to abandon the walls. Marcius, having taken this town alſo, made ſlaves of the inhabitants, and allowed his ſoldiers to divide the ſpoils. Thence, he marched to [8] Pedum (This, alſo, was a city of the Latines) and, advancing with his army in good order, as ſoon as he came near the walls he took the town by ſtorm: And, having treated it in the ſame manner with Thoſe he had, before, taken, he led his forces, early the next morning, to [9] Corbio. As he was approaching the walls, the inhabitants opened their gates; and, preſenting themſelves before him [10] with the marks of ſuppliants, delivered the town to him without ſtriking a ſtroke. Marcius commended them for having taken ſuch a reſolution, as beſt ſuited their own intereſt, and ordered them to ſupply his army with what they wanted, money, and corn: And, his orders being complied with, he led his army to [11] Corioli: This city, alſo, the inhabitants ſurrendered without reſiſtance; and, as they furniſhed his army with proviſions, and money, and every thing elſe they were ordered, with great chearfulneſs, he marched through their territories, as through a country belonging to his allies: For he, always, took great care that

8. Πεδανων. [b] *Pedum*, another city of the Latines, about ſeventeen miles north eaſt of Rome. It is, now, called *Gallicano*.

9. Κορβιωνα. See the ſecond annotation on the ſixth book.

10. Ικετηριας. See the ſeventeenth annotation on the ſixth book.

11. Κοριολανων. See the fifty fourth annotation on the fourth book.

[b] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

thoſe,

thoſe, who ſurrendered their cities to him, ſhould ſuffer none of the miſchiefs incident to war; but ſhould have their lands reſtored to them unhurt, and all the cattle, and ſlaves they had left in their country houſes: Neither would he ſuffer his army to quarter in the cities, leſt any miſchief might happen by their rapine, or theft; but always incamped without the walls.

XX. From Corioli, he marched to [12] Bovillae, a city, then, of note, and looked upon as one of the leading cities of the Latin nation. As the inhabitants, confiding in the ſtrength of their works, and the number of the garriſon, refuſed to receive him, Marcius encouraged his men to fight bravely; and, having promiſed great rewards to thoſe,

12. Βοϊλλας. Thus we muſt read the name of this city, and not Βωλας, as it ſtands in the editions, and manuſcripts. The Latin name of this city is [i] *Bovillae*: It ſtood on the Appian road, about nine Roman miles from Rome, and near three from Albanum: Here it was that the famous Clodius was killed by Milo, as famous a man in his own way. Our author has, already, told us that Marcius took *Bolae*, before he beſieged *Bovillae*; and that the inhabitants of the latter, in a ſally, drove the Volſci down a declivity, κατα τυ φρανυς, which does not agree with *Bovillae*, as it was ſituated in a plain. After Cluver has quoted this paſſage from our author, he doubts, and, after him, M. *** doubts, whether we ſhould read *Bovillae*, in this place, or in the other, inſtead of *Bolae*. But both of them forgot that our author uſes the ſame expreſſion in ſpeaking of the ſiege of *Bolae*; where he ſays of the Volſci, ελαινανλες εφευγον κατα τυ φρανυς. The mention of a declivity, therefore, may be a reaſon for reading *Bovillae* in neither place, but can be none for tranſpoſing the names of theſe cities. I do not wonder at the original doubt in Cluver, who may well be ſuppoſed to have read no more of Dionyſius at once, than was neceſſary to enable him to give an account of the cities, and places he was treating of; but, that a tranſlator of Dionyſius, who copied that doubt, ſhould not have remembered that he read κατα τυ φρανυς, in the page immediately preceding, if he did read it there, is very ſurpriſing.

[i] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

who

who ſhould firſt mount the walls, he began the attack, which was maintained with great vigor on both ſides: For the Bovillani did, not only, repulſe the aſſailants from the walls, but, even, threw open their gates; and, ſallying out in a body, forced thoſe, who oppoſed them, down a declivity; and, here was the greateſt ſlaughter of the Volſci; and the attack was drawn out to a great length, every one deſpairing of taking the town: But the general rendered the loſs of thoſe, who were ſlain, imperceptible, by ſubſtituting others in their room; and inſpired with freſh courage thoſe, who were ſpent with toil, by going himſelf to that part of the army, which ſuffered moſt: Where, not only, his words, but his actions, alſo, were incentives to valor: For he faced every danger, and was preſent at every attempt, till the town was taken. Having, at laſt, made himſelf maſter of this city alſo, and put ſome of the enemy he took to death upon the ſpot, and made others priſoners, he withdrew his forces; and, after a moſt glorious victory, returned laden with a great number of moſt magnificent ſpoils, and inriched his army with the vaſt ſums of money he took in this city, where it was found in greater quantity, than in any other he had taken.

XXI. After this, all the country he marched through, ſubmitted to him; and no city made any reſiſtance, but [13] Lavinium, which was the firſt city built by the Trojans, who, with Aeneas, landed in Italy; and from which the Romans derive their original, as I have, before, ſhewn.

13. Λαυίνιον. See the ſixty third chapter of the firſt book.

The

The inhabitants of this city thought themſelves obliged to ſuffer any extremity, rather than break their faith with the Romans, whom they looked upon as their deſcendants. Here, therefore, ſome briſk attacks were made upon the walls, and ſharp ingagements before the works: However, the walls were not carried at the firſt aſſault; but the ſiege ſeemed to be a work of time. Upon this, Marcius gave over the attack, and drew a line of contravallation round the town, which he fortified with paliſades, and placed guards upon all the roads, that neither proviſions, nor ſuccours might come to them from without. In the mean time, the Romans, being informed both of the deſtruction of the towns, that were already taken, and of the neceſſity, which had reduced others to join Marcius; and importuned with the deputations for ſuccours, which came to them, every day, from thoſe, that continued firm to their intereſt; and being, alſo, alarmed at the blocade of Lavinium, then actually formed; and concluding that, if this place was taken, the war would, preſently, be brought to the gates of Rome, thought the only remedy for all theſe evils, would be to paſs a vote for the return of Marcius. This was the cry of the whole people, and the tribunes were deſirous to bring in a law for the repeal of his condemnation; [14] but the patricians oppoſed

14. Αλλ' οἱ πατρίκιοι ἐναντιωθῆσαν αὐτοῖς. It muſt be owned that this behaviour of the patricians was truly great. They had employed all their power, and intereſt to ſave Coriolanus; but, the moment he became a rebel, they oppoſed his return; and, neither the diſtreſs he had, already, brought upon their country, nor the apprehenſion of ſeeing a Volſcian army elated with ſucceſs under a victorious, and exaſperated general at the gates of Rome, could terrify them into a compliance with the people, when theſe had ſo little reſolution as to deſire the repeal of his ſentence.

them, being determined not to reverſe any part of the ſentence, which had been pronounced: And, as no previous vote was paſſed by the ſenate, neither did the tribunes think fit to propoſe the affair to the people. It may well be wondered what motive could induce the ſenate, who had, before, ſo warmly appeared in favor of Marcius, now to oppoſe the people, when they deſired to recal him. Whether their intention was to ſound the inclinations of the people; or to inflame their deſire of reſtoring him by their own backwardneſs in gratifying it; or, poſſibly, to clear themſelves of the accuſations, with which they were charged, by ſhewing that they had neither given occaſion to, nor been accomplices in, any of the actions which Marcius had been guilty of: For, as their deliberation was ſecret, it is difficult to form any conjectures relating to the motives of it.

XXII. Marcius, being informed of theſe things by ſome deſerters, marched, immediately, towards Rome in a rage, leaving a ſufficient number of forces to carry on the blocade of Lavinium, and incamped at a place, called [15] *The Cluilian ditches*, within forty ſtadia of the city. When the Romans heard of his being there, they were in great diſorder, not doubting but his deſign was, preſently, to beſiege them: So that, ſome took arms, and ran to the walls without orders; others went in a body to the gates without any one to command them; ſome armed their ſlaves, and prepared to defend their own houſes; while others ſeized the fortreſs, and the capitol, and other ſtrong places of the city: And the women, with their hair diſhevelled, ran to the holy

15. Κλοιλιας ταφρους. See the third Annotation on the third book,

places,

places, and to the temples, lamenting, and praying to the gods to avert the threatening danger. After the night was paſſed, and the greateſt part of the following day, and none of the evils they had feared, befell them, but Marcius remained quiet, all the plebeians flocked to the forum, and called upon the patricians to aſſemble in the ſenate, and let them know that, if they did not paſs the previous vote for the return of Marcius, they themſelves would take ſuch reſolutions, as the ſenſe of their being betrayed ſhould dictate. Upon this, the patricians met in the ſenate, and reſolved to ſend five perſons of thoſe, who were the moſt advanced in years, and the moſt acceptable to Marcius, to treat with him of a reconciliation, and friendſhip. The perſons appointed were Marcus Minucius, Poſtumus Cominius, Spurius Lartius, Publius Pinarius, and Quintus Sulpicius, all conſular ſenators. When they came to the camp, and Marcius was informed of their arrival, he placed himſelf in the midſt of the moſt conſiderable among the Volſci, and their allies, where every thing, that was ſaid, might be heard by numbers of people, and ordered the deputies to be admitted. When they came in, Minucius, who, during his conſulſhip, had been the moſt active in his favor, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his oppoſition to the plebeians, ſpoke firſt, and ſaid as follows.

XXIII. "We are all ſenſible, Marcius, that the people "have treated you with great injuſtice in driving you out "of your country under a foul accuſation; and do not "wonder to ſee you reſent it, and bear your misfortune "with indignation: For, by an univerſal law of nature,

" the injured is an enemy to the injurer. But we wonder
" that you do not, with a calm conſideration, examine who
" thoſe are whom you ought to puniſh, and take revenge
" on, and that you obſerve no moderation in puniſhing,
" but involve the innocent with the guilty, and friends with
" enemies; that you violate the inviolable laws of nature,
" confound the duties of religion, and have even forgotten
" who you are, from whom deſcended, and where you were
" born. You ſee before you the moſt ancient of the patri-
" cians, and the moſt zealous of your friends, ſent by the
" commonwealth to lay before you our defence mixed
" with a deprecation, and to inform you upon what con-
" ditions we deſire you to be reconciled to the people;
" and, alſo, to adviſe you to act in ſuch a manner, as we
" think will be moſt for your reputation, and advantage.

XXIV. " I ſhall firſt ſpeak to the point of right. The
" plebeians, inflamed by their tribunes, conſpired againſt
" you; and, becauſe they feared you, came with a deſign
" to put you to death, without a trial: This act we, who
" are of the ſenate, prevented, and took care that you
" ſhould, upon that occaſion, ſuffer no injuſtice. After
" this, the ſame men, who were, thus, prevented from de-
" ſtroying you, ſummoned you to a trial, charging you with
" having ſpoken ill of them in the ſenate. This likewiſe, you
" know, we oppoſed, and would not ſuffer you to be tried
" either for the opinion you gave, or the words you ſpoke.
" Diſappointed of this alſo, they applied, at laſt, to us, and
" accuſed you of affecting tyranny: This charge you your-
" ſelf

" ſelf ſubmitted to make your defence to, ſince you were
" far from being guilty of it, and conſented that the people
" ſhould paſs judgement upon you; the ſenate were, then alſo,
" preſent, and uſed many interceſſions in your favor. Which
" of theſe misfortunes, therefore, have we been the cauſe
" of? And why do you make war upon us, who ſhewed
" ſo much affection to you, during that conteſt? But it
" appears that not even all the plebeians deſired your
" baniſhment: For you were [16] condemned by two votes
" only: So that, you cannot, with juſtice, be an enemy even
" to theſe, who acquitted you. But I will ſuppoſe, if you
" pleaſe, that all the people, by their votes, and the whole
" ſenate, by their reſolutions, brought this calamity upon
" you, and that your hatred againſt us all is juſt; what
" injury have the women done to you, Marcius, that you
" ſhould declare war againſt them? By what vote did they
" condemn you to baniſhment? What ſpeeches did they
" make againſt you? By what injurious actions, or thoughts
" have our children deſerved to be expoſed to captivity, and
" to every other misfortune, if the city ſhould be taken?
" You do not determine juſtly, Marcius, if you think you
" ought to hate thoſe, who are guilty, and your enemies,
" in ſuch a manner, as not to ſpare even thoſe, who are
" innocent, and your friends: This way of thinking is
" unbecoming a good man. But, to omit all theſe things,
" what anſwer could you make, in the name of Jupiter, if

16. Δυσι γαρ ἐαλως ψηφοις μοναις. See the twenty ſixth annotation on the ſeventh book.

" any

" any one ſhould aſk you, what injury you have received " from your anceſtors to induce you to deſtroy their ſepul- " chres, and deprive them of the honors they receive from " men? What injury can provoke you to ſpoil, burn, and " demoliſh the altars of the gods, their conſecrated places, " and temples, and not to ſuffer them to receive the worſhip, " that has always been paid to them? What anſwer could " you make to theſe things? For my part, I know of none. " Concerning the point of right, let theſe reaſons be alledged " in favor of ourſelves, of the ſenate, and of the other citi- " zens, whom, unprovoked by any injury, you deſire to " deſtroy, and in favor of the ſepulchres, the temples, and " the city, to which you owe both your birth, and edu- " cation.

XXV. " Is it reaſonable that all men, even thoſe, who " have not wronged you, together with their wives, and " children ſhould periſh to gratify your revenge, and that " all the gods, the heroes, and the genius's, the city, and the " country, ſhould ſuffer for the madneſs of the tribunes, and " that nothing ſhould be exempted, nothing go unrevenged? " Have you not already, ſufficiently, puniſhed us all by the " ſlaughter of ſo many men, the devaſtation of ſo large a " country with fire, and ſword, the utter ſubverſion of ſo " many cities, the aboliſhing the feſtivals, the ſacrifices, and " the worſhip of the gods, and genius's, whom you have " deprived of their feſtivals, their ſacrifices, and their " eſtabliſhed honors: For my part, I cannot think that a " man, who has the leaſt regard for virtue, ought either to

" involve

" involve his friends in the ſame ruin with his enemies, or
" to ſhew himſelf fierce, and inexorable in his anger to
" thoſe, who have, in any degree, offended him; particu-
" larly, if he has, many times, puniſhed them with ſeverity.
" Theſe, therefore, are the reaſons we had to offer you, both
" to excuſe ourſelves, and deprecate your anger in favor of
" the plebeians; and theſe the motives, which we, who are
" the moſt dignified of all your friends, are come to ſuggeſt
" to you through pure affection; and the promiſes we
" make, if you think fit to be reconciled to your country.
" While your power is at the greateſt height, and Heaven
" yet favours you, we adviſe you to act with moderation,
" and uſe your good fortune with economy, when you con-
" ſider that all things are ſubject to change, and that nothing
" continues long in the ſame ſituation. Eminence, when
" arrived to its greateſt luſtre, raiſes the indignation of the
" gods, and ſinks, again, into obſcurity: This, chiefly, hap-
" pens to ſevere, and haughty minds, which exceed the
" bounds of human nature. You have, now, an opportunity
" of putting an end to the war upon the moſt honourable
" conditions: For the whole ſenate are deſirous to paſs a
" vote for your return, and the people ready to repeal, by
" a law, the ſentence of your perpetual baniſhment. What
" ſhould hinder you, then, from ſeeing, once more, thoſe
" perſons you love, and honour moſt; from being reſtored to
" your country, the thing, of all others, the moſt worthy to
" be contended for; from governing, as you may well expect,
" thoſe, who govern others; from commanding thoſe, who
" com-

" command others, and from leaving the greateſt glory to your " children, and poſterity. We are the ſureties for the im- " mediate performance of all theſe promiſes. It would not " become the ſenate, or people to paſs a mild, or relenting " vote in your favor, while you are in arms, and commit " hoſtilities againſt us; but, if you lay down your arms, " the order for your return will ſoon be brought to you " by us.

XXVI. " Theſe will be the advantages you will reap " from your reconciliation: Whereas, if you perſiſt in your " reſentment, and are inflexible in your hatred to us, many " misfortunes will befal you; of which I ſhall mention two, " as the moſt conſiderable, and the moſt evident: Firſt, " you are infatuated with a deſire to accompliſh a difficult, " rather an impoſſible thing, which is, to ſubvert the power " of the Romans, and That by the arms of the Volſci. " Secondly, if you ſucceed, and accompliſh your deſire, " you will be looked upon as the moſt miſerable of all men. " Hear then, Marcius, the reaſons, that induce me to enter- " tain this opinion concerning you; and be not offended " at the liberty I ſhall take in laying them before you. " Conſider, firſt, the impoſſibility of ſucceeding. The " Romans, as you yourſelf know, abound in a numerous " youth of their own nation, whom (if the ſedition is once " baniſhed from among them, as baniſhed it muſt be, pre- " ſently, by this war; for common fear reconciles all " differences) neither the Volſci, nor even any other Italian " nation, will be able to overcome. Great, alſo, is the

" power

" power of the Latines, and of the reſt of our allies,
" and colonies; moſt of whom, you may be aſſured,
" will fly to our aſſiſtance. We have generals of the ſame
" merit with yourſelf, both old, and young, in a greater
" number than are to be found in any other city. But the
" greateſt aſſiſtance of all, and That, which in the moſt
" threatening dangers, has never fruſtrated our hopes,
" and is alone of greater efficacy than all human power,
" is the favor of Heaven, by which our city has, not only,
" preſerved her liberty [17] near eight generations, but is be-
" come flouriſhing, and the ſovereign of many nations.
" Neither ought you to compare us to the Pedani, the
" Tolerini, or the other inhabitants of the ſmall towns you
" have reduced: For a general leſs able than yourſelf, and
" with fewer troops, might have forced places defended by
" ſmall garriſons, and ſlight works. But conſider the great-
" neſs of our city, the luſtre of her military actions, and the
" favor of the gods, always preſent to her, by which ſhe
" was, from a ſmall beginning, raiſed to the grandeur ſhe
" now enjoys; and imagine not that the forces, with which
" you are undertaking ſo great an enterpriſe, are changed;
" but remember well that your army conſiſts of Volſci, and
" of Aequi, whom the preſent race of our countrymen have
" defeated in many battles, that is, as often as they have
" dared to come to an ingagement with us. Know then
" that, with troops inferior in bravery, you are going to
" encounter thoſe, that are ſuperior to them; and, with

17. Ογδοην ηδη την νυν γενεαν. See the fourteenth annotation on the firſt book.

" troops always beaten, thoſe, that are always victorious.
" But, if the contrary of this was true, it would, however,
" be a thing to be wondered at how you, who are experienced
" in military affairs, ſhould not know that thoſe, who invade
" the poſſeſſions of others, are not ſo daring as thoſe, who
" defend their own: For the former, if they ſucceed not,
" receive no damage; but the others, if they are defeated,
" have nothing left. And this is the chief reaſon, why
" armies, ſuperior both in number, and goodneſs, are often
" beaten by thoſe, that are inferior to them in both. For
" neceſſity is powerful; and every man, when his all is at
" ſtake, is inſpired with a boldneſs, which nature had, before,
" denied him. I had many other things to ſay concerning the
" impoſſibility of your undertaking; but let theſe ſuffice.

XXVII. " I have one conſideration ſtill to ſuggeſt to you,
" which, if you judge of it by reaſon, not paſſion, will, not
" only, gain your approbation, but, alſo, ingage you to
" repent of what you are doing. What is this conſideration?
" That the gods have never given to any mortal man the
" certain knowledge of future events; neither will you find,
" in any age, a man ſucceſsful in all his undertakings, un-
" ſucceſsful in none. For which reaſon, thoſe, who excel
" others in prudence, the fruit of a long life, and great
" experience, think it reaſonable, before they begin any
" enterpriſe whatever, firſt to conſider the event of it, not
" only the event they wiſh for, but the other alſo, which
" may, poſſibly, happen contrary to their deſire: This is,
" particularly, the duty of generals, as the affairs they have
" the

" the conduct of are of the greateſt importance; and as
" all the world attributes to them the cauſes both of victories,
" and defeats: After they have, thus, conſidered things, if
" they find that the want of ſucceſs will be attended with
" ſmall, or few, miſchiefs, or with none at all, they under-
" take it; but, if with great, and many inconveniences,
" they abandon it. Follow their example; and, before you
" ingage yourſelf, conſider what you are to expect, if you
" ſhould be unfortunate in this war, and every thing ſhould not
" ſucceed according to your deſire. You will be reproached
" by thoſe, who have received you, with having undertaken
" things impoſſible; and, when our army, in return, ſhall
" march into their territories, and lay them waſte (for we
" ſhall never ſubmit to ſuch injuries without revenging our-
" ſelves on the aggreſſors) you will never be able to avoid
" this alternative; you will be put to death in a ſhameful
" manner, either by the Volſci themſelves, as the cauſe of
" the great calamities they will have ſuffered, or by us,
" whom you deſigned to deſtroy, and inſlave. But it may,
" poſſibly, happen that the former, before any miſchief be-
" fals them, may, in order to a reconciliation, think fit to
" deliver you up to be puniſhed by us; which is a thing,
" that many, both Barbarians, and Greeks, when reduced to
" ſuch extremities, have been obliged to ſubmit to. Do you
" look upon theſe as ſmall things, and not worth your con-
" ſideration? And that you ought to deſpiſe them, or rather
" to eſteem them as the greateſt of all evils?

XXVIII. " On the other ſide, if you ſucceed, what won-
" derful, what deſirable advantage will you obtain? Or what
" glory will you acquire? For this, alſo, you ought to exa-
" mine. In the firſt place, you will have the misfortune to
" be deprived of thoſe perſons, who are the deareſt, and the
" moſt nearly related, to you; of an unfortunate mother,
" to whom you make no grateful return for your birth, and
" education, and for all the other trouble ſhe underwent on
" your account; ſecondly, of a virtuous wife, who, by
" reaſon of your abſence, ſits in ſolitude, and widowhood,
" and laments day, and night your baniſhment; beſides,
" you will be deprived of two ſons, who, as they are de-
" ſcended from worthy anceſtors, are intitled to the enjoy-
" ment of their honors, and to flouriſh in a flouriſhing
" commonwealth: Of the miſerable, and unfortunate ca-
" taſtrophe of all theſe you will be compelled to be a ſpec-
" tator, if you dare to approach the walls with your army:
" For you may be aſſured that no mercy will be ſhewn to
" any of your relations by thoſe, who are in danger of loſing
" their own, and are treated by you with the ſame cruelty;
" but, forced by their calamities, they will inflict on them
" dreadful torments, cruel inſults, and all other kinds of
" abuſe: And of all theſe things, not the actors, but you,
" who forced them to act in this manner, will be the cauſe.
" Theſe will be the pleaſures you will enjoy, if your enter-
" priſe ſucceeds. As to the praiſe you will acquire, the
" admiration, and the honors, which all good men ought
" to aim at, conſider of what nature they will be: You will

" be

" be called the parricide of your mother, the murderer of
" your children, the aſſaſſin of your wife, and the ſcourge
" of your country; and no man, who has any regard either
" to religion, or juſtice, will partake of the ſame ſacrifices,
" or libations with you, or live under the ſame roof whither-
" ſoever you go: Even thoſe, for whoſe ſake you do theſe
" things, will not eſteem you; but every one of them, after
" they have reaped ſome advantage from your impious
" actions, will deteſt your implacable temper. I need not
" put you in mind that, beſides the deteſtation of the beſt
" men, you will be envied by your equals, and feared by
" your inferiors; and, for both theſe reaſons, expoſed to
" treachery, and to many other miſchiefs, which muſt, ne-
" ceſſarily, befal every man, who is deſtitute of friends, and
" reſides in a foreign country. I ſay nothing, alſo, of the
" Furies, ſent by the gods, and genius's to puniſh thoſe,
" who have been guilty of wicked, and flagitious actions,
" by whom they are tormented both in their minds,
" and bodies, and, after a wretched life, die a miſerable
" death. Conſider theſe things, Marcius; change your reſo-
" lution, and forget your reſentment to your country; look
" upon Fortune to have been the cauſe of all the miſchiefs
" you have either ſuffered from our hands, or inflicted on
" us; return with joy to your family; and, once more,
" receive the moſt affectionate embraces of your mother,
" the moſt indearing careſſes of your wife, and the moſt
" ingaging tenderneſs of your children; and, by reſtoring
" yourſelf to your country, repay the glorious debt
" you

" you owe to her, for having given birth, and education to " ſo great a man."

XXIX. Minucius having ſpoken in this manner, Marcius, after a ſhort pauſe, replied: " I own myſelf a friend to you, " Minucius, and to all the reſt, who are ſent hither together " with you by the ſenate; and am ready to do you any " ſervice in my power, becauſe, even before, when I was your " fellow-citizen, and had a ſhare in the adminiſtration of " the public affairs, you aſſiſted me on many difficult occa- " ſions; and, after my baniſhment, you did not diſregard " me from a contempt of my then unhappy ſituation, " as if it had rendered me incapable, any longer, either to " ſerve my friends, or hurt my enemies; but continued to " ſhew your benevolence, and friendſhip for me, by taking " care of my mother, my wife, and children, and alleviating " their misfortunes by your good offices: But I am an " enemy to the reſt of the Romans, and do every thing in " my power to diſtreſs them, and ſhall never ceaſe to hate " thoſe, who, in return for the many glorious actions, for " which I deſerved honor, drove me out of my country with " ignominy, as if I had been guilty of the moſt heinous " crimes againſt the commonwealth; and ſhewed neither " reſpect to my mother, compaſſion to my children, nor " any other marks of ſenſibility for my misfortunes. Now " you are apprized of my reſolutions, if you deſire any " thing of me with regard to yourſelves, make no difficulty " to let me know it, and be aſſured that you may com- " mand any thing in my power: But, concerning friendſhip,

" and

" and a reconciliation, which you desire me to enter into " with the people, upon the prospect of my return, cease " to say any thing. Shall I look upon it as a singular favor " to return to a city, where vice receives the reward of virtue, " and innocence the punishment of guilt? Let me know, " in the name of the gods, for what crime have I myself " experienced this misfortune? What action have I com- " mitted, that is unworthy of my ancestors? I made my " first campaign when I was very young, at the time we " fought against the kings, who were, then, endeavouring " to force their restoration. In this engagement, I saved a " citizen, and slew an enemy, and was honoured by the " general with [18] the crowns due to superior valor. After

18. Ἀριστείοις στέφανοις. By these words, our author means the *Corona civica*; because he makes Marcius say that he received this honor as a reward for having saved a citizen, and slain an enemy. As the *Civic crown* was the most honourable of all others, the reader may not be displeased to find here some particulars relating to it. This crown was first made of a branch of the *Ilex*; afterwards, of the *Æsculus*, and, at last, of the oak with the acorns. This might be sufficient if all my readers were gardeners; but, as that may not happen to be the case, I think it necessary to shew the difference between the two first trees, and the last, with which they are, often, confounded. The *Ilex* of [k] Pliny, and the πρῖνος of Theophrastus, is the scarlet oak, which bears the scarlet grain, the κόκκος βαφικὴ of the Greeks, and the *Kermes* of the Arabians, being an excrescence occasioned by the puncture of a fly, which lays its eggs there: This grain is, sometimes, used by the dyers; but was much more so, before they were acquainted with Cochineal. The *Æsculus*, called by Theophrastus, ἡμερὶς, and, by [l] Pliny, *Hemeris*, is the dwarf oak. Every Roman soldier, of whatever degree, was intitled to a civic crown, if he had saved a citizen, and killed an enemy; and the latter must have stood upon the same spot, where the affair happened, that day: The citizen saved must own it; otherwise, no witnesses were admitted to prove the fact; the person saved must be a Roman citizen: After the soldier had received a civic crown, he had the privilege of wearing it always: When he entered any place, where public games were celebrating, all the spectators, even the senate, rose

[k] Nat. Hist. B. xvi. c. 8. [l] Ib. c. 6.

" that,

" that, in every other action I was ingaged in, whether of " the horſe, or foot, I diſtinguiſhed myſelf in all, and, in all, " received the rewards appropriated to the braveſt man; " neither was there any town taken by ſtorm, of which " I did not mount the walls either the firſt, or among the " firſt; nor was the enemy ever put to flight, but all, who " were preſent, acknowledged that I had been the chief cauſe " of it; or any other ſignal, or brave action performed in " war without the aſſiſtance either of my valor, or fortune.

XXX. " It is poſſible that any other brave man alſo " may alledge ſuch exploits, if not ſo many, in his favor; " but, what general, or inferior officer has reaſon to glory " in taking any town, in the manner I took Corioli? And " that the ſame man, the ſame day, defeated the enemy's " army, as I defeated That of the Antiates, who were " coming to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged? I ſhall not add " that, after I had given ſo many proofs of my valor, when " I might have received out of the ſpoils a large quantity of " gold, and ſilver, of ſlaves, beaſts of burden, and cattle, " and of fertil land to a great extent, I refuſed them all; " and, from a deſire to ſecure myſelf as much as poſſible " againſt envy, took only a war-horſe of all the ſpoils;

up to do him honor: Upon thoſe occaſions, he had a right of ſitting next to the ſenators: The ſoldier himſelf, his father, and his grandfather, were freed from all public duties. [m] *Civem ſervare, hoſtem occidere: Utque eum locum, in quo ſit actum, hoſtis obtineat eo die: Ut ſervatus fateatur; aliàs teſtes nil proſunt; ut civis fuerit: — Acceptâ licet uti perpetuo: Ludos ineunti ſemper aſſurgi, etiam ab ſenatu, in more eſt: Sedendi jus in proximo ſenatui: Vacatio munerum omnium ipſi, patrique, et avo paterno.* There is ſomething in this inſtitution too great not to be explained, or imitated.

[m] Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. B. xvi. c. 4.

" and,

" and, of all the priſoners, only one perſon, with whom I
" had an intercourſe of hoſpitality; and all the reſt of the
" riches I reſigned to the public. Did I, then, for theſe
" actions deſerve puniſhment, or honor? And to be ſubject
" to the moſt profligate of the citizens, or to command my
" inferiors? However, it ſeems, the people did not baniſh
" me for theſe things; but becauſe, in the reſt of my actions,
" I was intemperate, expenſive, and irregular: But, who
" can name the man, who has been deprived either of his
" country, his liberty, or his fortune, or involved in any
" other calamity, to gratify my irregular appetites? No one
" even of my enemies ever accuſed, or charged me with any
" thing of this kind, but all bore witneſs that the whole
" tenor of my life was irreprehenſible. But, it may be ſaid,
" your political principles, deteſted by all men, brought this
" misfortune upon you: For, when you had it in your
" power to chuſe the better ſide, you choſe the worſe:
" And all your words, and actions, conſtantly, tended to
" ſubvert the eſtabliſhed ariſtocracy; and to throw the
" whole power of the commonwealth into the hands of the
" ignorant, and abandoned multitude: On the contrary,
" the meaſures I purſued, Minucius, were the very reverſe
" of all this, and tended to maintain the ſenate in the ad-
" miniſtration of the public affairs for ever, and to perpe-
" tuate the eſtabliſhed conſtitution. But, in return for theſe
" glorious meaſures, which our anceſtors thought worthy of
" emulation, I have received this happy, this bleſſed retribu-
" tion from my country, in being baniſhed, not by the people

" only, Minucius, but, long before, by the ſenate, who encou-
" raged me, at firſt, with vain hopes, while I was oppoſing
" the tribunes in their pretenſions to tyranny, that they them-
" ſelves would provide for my ſecurity; and, upon the firſt
" ſuſpicion of ſome danger from the plebeians, abandoned me,
" and delivered me up to my enemies. You yourſelf were
" conſul, Minucius, when the ſenate paſſed the previous
" vote concerning my trial, and when Valerius, who adviſed
" them to deliver me up to the people, gained great applauſe
" by his ſpeech: And I, fearing leſt, if the queſtion had
" been put, I ſhould be condemned by the ſenate, ac-
" quieſced, and promiſed to appear, and take my trial.

XXXI. " Anſwer me now, Minucius, whether I did not
" ſeem to the ſenate, alſo, to deſerve puniſhment for having
" promoted, and purſued the beſt of all meaſures, or to the
" people only? For, if you were all of this opinion at that
" time, and if all of you baniſhed me, it is plain that all of
" you, who concurred in this, are enemies to virtue, and
" that there is no place in your city, where merit can be
" ſecure. But, if the ſenate were forced to comply with the
" people, and their compliance was not voluntary, but ex-
" torted by neceſſity, you muſt allow that they are under
" the government of the wicked, and have not the power
" to act in any thing, as they think fit. After this, do you
" deſire me to return to a city thus conſtituted, in which
" the beſt men are governed by the worſt? You muſt,
" certainly, think me capable of committing a great folly.
" But, ſuppoſe I yield to your ſolicitations; and, putting

" an

" an end to the war as you deſire, return; what ſentiments
" ſhall I entertain after this? And what conduct ſhall I
" obſerve? Shall I conſult my own ſecurity, and ſafety;
" and, in order to obtain magiſtracies, honors, and the other
" advantages I think myſelf worthy of, ſubmit to court the
" multitude, who alone have the power of beſtowing them?
" If I did this, I ſhould be transformed from a good, to a
" bad man, and reap no benefit from my former virtue:
" Or ſhall I preſerve the ſame character; and, adhering to
" the ſame principles of government, oppoſe all, who are of
" a different opinion? And is it not manifeſt that the people
" would, again, perſecute me, and meditate another revenge,
" and make this their firſt charge againſt me, that, having,
" obtained my return through their indulgence, I did not
" flatter their paſſions in every meaſure I purſued? This
" cannot be denied. Then, ſome other bold demagogue
" will ſpring up, like Sicinnius, or Lucius, who will accuſe
" me of ſowing diſcord among the citizens, of forming
" treacherous deſigns againſt the people, of betraying my
" country to the enemy, or, of affecting tyranny, with
" which Lucius charged me, or, of any other crime he
" ſhall think fit: For an enemy will never be at a loſs for
" an accuſation: And, to fill up the meaſure of my iniqui-
" ties, I ſhall ſoon be accuſed, alſo, of every thing I have
" done in this war; that I have laid waſte your country,
" carried off a great booty, taken your towns, ſlain ſome
" of thoſe, who defended them, and delivered up others
" to the enemy: If my accuſers charge me with theſe

" things, what can I ſay in my defence? What aſſiſtance " can I rely on?

XXXII. " Is it not, therefore, plain, Minucius, that you " make uſe of fair words, and diſſimulation; and, with a " ſpecious name, cover a wicked deſign? For, inſtead of " giving me leave to return, you lead me, as a victim, to " the people: Even this may be your view; for I can, no " longer, entertain any good opinion of you. However, if you " deſire it, I will ſuppoſe that you do not foreſee any thing " I ſhall ſuffer: But, what advantage ſhall I reap from your " ignorance, or folly; ſince it will not be in your power, " ſhould you even deſire it, to oppoſe any thing; but you " will be compelled to gratify the people even in this, as well " as in other things? I think it unneceſſary, after this, to " employ many words, in order to convince you that I ſhall " find no ſecurity in what you call a return, but I, the road, " that will, quickly, lead me to deſtruction. Learn, now, " in your turn, that I can find in it neither reputation, " honor, nor piety, ſince you deſire me, with great reaſon, " Minucius, to have a regard to theſe, but, that I ſhall act " in a moſt ſhameful, and impious manner, if I follow " your advice. I was an enemy to the Volſci, and did them " great injuries during the war, while I was acquiring ſo- " vereignty, power, and glory for my country. Was it not " reaſonable, therefore, that I ſhould be honoured by thoſe I " had obliged, and hated by thoſe I had injured? Certainly, " if reaſon had taken place: But Fortune has defeated both " theſe expectations, and given a contrary turn to their

" diſ-

" diſpoſitions: For you, for whoſe ſake I was an enemy to
" theſe men, have deprived me of all my fortunes, and, hav-
" ing reduced me to the loweſt condition, you caſt me off;
" while theſe, who had ſuffered the greateſt calamities from
" me, received into their cities this indigent, this abject
" man, who had been driven from his habitation, and from
" his country; and, not contented with this illuſtrious, this
" magnanimous action, they granted to me the rights of
" a citizen in all their cities, and inveſted me with thoſe
" magiſtracies, and honors, that are in the greateſt requeſt
" among them. I omit the reſt: They have, now, appointed
" me to command, with unlimited authority, the army they
" have ſent out of their country, and committed to me alone
" the whole power of their commonwealth. What inſenſi-
" bility then ſhould I be guilty of, if I betrayed thoſe, by
" whom I have been adorned with ſuch honors, without
" being provoked to it by the leaſt injury? Unleſs, indeed,
" their favors are injurious to me, as mine are to you. I
" ſhould, certainly, gain a fine reputation in the world, if
" I was known to be guilty of a double treachery. And
" who could not chuſe but praiſe me, when they heard
" that, finding my friends, from whom I ought to have
" received benefits, to become my enemies, and my ene-
" mies, by whom I ought to have been deſtroyed, to become
" my friends, inſtead of hating thoſe who hate me, and
" loving thoſe who love me, I entertained contrary ſenti-
" ments?

XXXIII.

XXXIII. " Conſider, now, Minucius, in what diſpoſition " the gods are to me at preſent, and in what diſpoſition " they will be to me, during the reſt of my life, if I am " prevailed upon by you to betray the truſt repoſed in me " by theſe people. At preſent, they aſſiſt me in every " enterpriſe I undertake againſt you, and I ſucceed in every " attempt. How great a proof do you think this is of my " piety? For, if I had undertaken an impious war againſt " my country, the gods ought to have oppoſed me in every " thing; but, ſince Fortune favors my arms with an au- " ſpicious gale, and every thing I attempt is crowned with " ſucceſs, it is plain that I am a pious man, and that my " deſigns are honourable. What, therefore, can I expect, if " I change my conduct, and endeavour to encreaſe your " power, and reduce theirs? Have I not reaſon to expect " the contrary of all this, and that the gods, exaſperated at " my perfidy, will revenge the injured? And, as by the " aſſiſtance of the gods, I have been raiſed from a low " condition to greatneſs, ſhall I not, again, fall from great- " neſs to a low condition, and my [19] ſufferings become leſſons " to the reſt of the world? Theſe are my thoughts concern- " ing the gods; and I am perſuaded that thoſe Furies you " mentioned, Minucius, ſo formidable, and inexorable to " the wicked, will perſecute me, and torment both my ſoul, " and body, whenever I ſhall abandon, and betray thoſe, " who preſerved me after you had ruined me, and, at the " ſame time they preſerved me, conferred many illuſtrious

[19] Παιγνια παιδευματα. See the thirty third annotation on the firſt book.

" marks

" marks of their favor on me, to whom I gave this aſſurance,
" to which I called the gods to witneſs, that I did not
" come among them with a deſign to do them any injury,
" and pledged that faith to them, which I have, hitherto,
" preſerved pure and inviolate.

XXXIV. " When, Minucius, you call thoſe, ſtill, my
" friends, who have baniſhed me, and that nation, my
" country, which has renounced me; when you appeal to
" the laws of nature, and diſplay the duties of religion, you
" ſeem to be unacquainted with the moſt common things,
" and to be alone ignorant of Thoſe, which no man elſe is
" ignorant of; that friends, or enemies are not diſtinguiſhed
" either by their looks, or their names, but by experience,
" and by their behaviour. We all love thoſe, who do us
" good, and hate thoſe, who do us harm; this law we have
" not received from the inſtitution of men, neither is it in
" their power to abrogate it, when they pleaſe: It is the
" univerſal, and eternal law of nature given to all, who
" partake of ſenſe, and will ever continue in force. For
" this reaſon, we renounce our friends, when they injure us,
" and are reconciled to our enemies, when we receive ſome
" favors from them; and we cheriſh the country, that gave
" us birth, when we receive a benefit from it; but, when
" an injury, we abandon it, and are not fond of it for the
" ſake of the place, but of the advantage we receive from
" it. Theſe are not the ſentiments of private men only, but
" of whole cities, and nations: So that, whoever follows this
" maxim contradicts neither the divine laws, nor the received
" opinion

" opinion of all men. While, therefore, I act in this manner, " I look upon myſelf to act with juſtice, with advantage " to myſelf, and with honor; and that my behaviour is, at " the ſame time, highly acceptable to the gods: Since my " actions are pleaſing to them, I have no occaſion to make " men judges of thoſe actions, who judge of truth by con- " jecture, and opinion; neither do I eſteem the enterpriſe I " have undertaken to be impoſſible, ſince the gods are my " guides; particularly, if I may be allowed to gueſs of the " future by the paſt.

XXXV. " Concerning the moderation you recommend " to me, and that I would not, utterly, deſtroy the Roman " nation, nor ſubvert their city from the foundations, I " could anſwer, Minucius, that this does not belong to my " province, neither is this requeſt, properly, addreſſed to me, " who am, indeed, general of the army, but theſe have the " ſole power of making peace, and war: So that, you ought " to apply to them for a truce in order to a peace, and not " to me. However, I ſhall not give you this anſwer; but, " from the veneration I pay to the gods of our fathers, and " the reſpect I bear to the ſepulchres of our anceſtors, and " to my native country, the compaſſion I feel for your wives " and children, who, though innocent, will ſuffer for the " errors of their fathers, and huſbands, and from my regard " to you, who are ſent hither by your commonwealth, " which is not the leaſt conſideration, Minucius, I ſhall re- " turn this anſwer: If the Romans will reſtore to the Volſci " the lands they have taken from them, and the cities they

" are

" are in poſſeſſion of, recal their colonies, enter into a league
" of perpetual friendſhip with them, communicate to them
" the rights of Roman citizens, in the ſame manner as they
" have communicated them to the Latines, and confirm
" this treaty by oaths, and imprecations againſt the tranſ-
" greſſors of it, I will put an end to the war. Firſt then,
" make your report to them of theſe things, and urge to
" them the conſideration of juſtice with the ſame energy
" you have repreſented it to me; tell them that it is a
" glorious thing for every man to enjoy his own poſſeſſions,
" and live in peace, and highly valuable to have no enemy,
" no criſis to fear; but that it is no leſs ſhameful, by graſp-
" ing at the poſſeſſions of others, to expoſe ourſelves to an
" unneceſſary war, in which we run the hazard of loſing
" even all we enjoy; lay before them the conſequences,
" that attend thoſe, who covet the territories of others,
" when they do not ſucceed, as well as when they do; add
" too, if you pleaſe, that thoſe, who deſire to ſeize the
" towns of the injured, if they do not overcome them,
" often loſe both their own territories, and their own cities;
" and, beſides this, ſee their wives expoſed to the greateſt
" indignities, their children to inſults, and their decrepit
" parents to ſlavery: And let the ſenate know, at the ſame
" time, that they could have no reaſon to attribute theſe
" evils to Marcius, but to their own folly; ſince, when they
" have it in their power to do juſtice, and to avoid every
" calamity, they chuſe to hazard all from the great delight
" they, always, take in the poſſeſſions of others. You have

" my anſwer, to which you will not prevail upon me to add " any thing. Return now, and conſider what you ought to do. " I will allow you thirty days for your deliberation. In the " mean time, to ſhew my regard for you, Minucius, and " for the reſt of the deputies, I will withdraw my troops " from your territories; for they would occaſion great da- " mage to you ſhould they remain here: And, on the " thirtieth day, expect my return in order to receive your " anſwer."

XXXVI. Having ſaid this, he roſe up, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly: And, the following night, decamped with his army about the [20] laſt watch, and marched to the reſt of the Latin cities (either really informed that the Romans were to receive ſome ſuccours from thence, as Minucius had advanced in his ſpeech, or, having himſelf cauſed ſuch a report to be ſpread) to the end it might not appear that he had given over the war to gratify his enemies. And, having attacked a town, called [21] Longola, he made himſelf maſter of it without any difficulty, and treated it in the ſame manner he had treated the reſt, by making ſlaves of the inhabitants, and plundering the town. Then he marched to the city of the [22] Satricani; and, having taken this, alſo, after a ſhort reſiſtance, and ordered a detachment of his army to convey the booty, taken in both theſe towns, to [23] Echetra, he went with the reſt of his forces to a town,

20. Περι την τελευταιαν φυλακην. See the ſixtieth annotation on the third book.

21. Λογγολα. See the ninety firſt chapter of the ſixth book.

22. Σατρικανων. See the ſixty firſt chapter of the fifth book.

23. Εχετραν. See the fifty ſixth annotation on the fourth book.

called

called [24] Cetia: After he had taken this place alſo, and pillaged it, he made an irruption into the territories of the [25] Poluſcani; who, being unable to withſtand him, he took their city, alſo, by ſtorm: And, then advanced to the following towns; [26] Lavinium, and [27] Vitellia he took by aſſault; and [28] Corioli by compoſition. Having thus made himſelf maſter of ſeven cities in thirty days, he returned to Rome with an army much more numerous than the former; and incamped on the road, that leads to Tuſculum, at the diſtance of ſomething more than thirty ſtadia from the city.

[24] Κέλιαν. I find that [n] Cluver can make nothing of the name of this town; for which reaſon, I ſhall not attempt to correct it. In all probability, the text is corrupted.

[25] Πολυσκανων. See the forty ſeventh annotation on the ſixth book.

[26] Αλβιήλας. Sylburgius thinks, with great reaſon, that we ought to read Λαυϊνιάλας; becauſe, Lavinium, as we have ſeen, was blocked up before Coriolanus advanced ſo near to Rome, as the Cluilian ditches.

[27] Μεγιλαινας. I very much ſuſpect that here is another error in the Greek text; becauſe I can find no ſuch town in Italy, as *Mugilla:* And the reaſon given by Jac. Gronovius to prove there was ſuch a town, is, in my opinion, very inconcluſive, though M.*** has adopted it. Gronovius contends that there muſt have been ſuch a town, becauſe the *cognomen* of Lucius Papirius was Mugillanus. If this is a reaſon, the conſequence will be, that all the Roman *cognomina* were derived from towns: But this was far from being the caſe, as we ſee by theſe *cognomina*; P. Cornelius Scipio; M. Tullius Cicero; C. Julius Caeſar, and many others. I ſhall, therefore, adhere to the correction of [o] Cluver, who reads Ουϊτελλιανας, inſtead of Μεγιλαινας. In this, he is ſupported by [p] Livy, who reckons *Vitellia* among the cities taken by Coriolanus: *Corbionem*, Vitelliam, *Trebiam*, *Labicos*, *Pedum cepit*. *Vitellia* ſtood on the borders of the Latines, and the Aequi.

[28] Κοριολανας. This cannot be the true reading; becauſe our author has told us that he had, before, taken *Corioli*. [q] Cluver thinks we ought to read Κωρανας. But [r] he himſelf, in another place, makes *Cora* to have been a city of the Volſci; which makes it impoſſible that *Cora* ſhould have been one of the towns taken by them under Coriolanus: As, therefore, I am at a loſs what city to ſubſtitute in the room of Corioli, I have ſuffered it to remain in the text.

[n] Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 8. [o] Ib. B. ii. c. 16. [p] B. ii. c. 39. [q] Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 16. [r] Ib. B. iii. c. 8.

While Marcius was employed in taking, and conciliating the cities of the Latines, the Romans, after many conſultations upon his demands, reſolved to do nothing unworthy of their commonwealth; but, if the Volſci would depart from their territories, and from Thoſe of their allies, and ſubjects, and, putting an end to the war, ſend embaſſadors to treat of friendſhip, the ſenate would paſs a previous vote to ſettle the terms of that friendſhip, and lay before the people the reſult of their deliberations; but that, while they remained in their territories, and in Thoſe of their allies, committing acts of hoſtility, they would come to no reſolution in their favor: For it was, always, the great concern of the Romans to do nothing by command, or to yield to an enemy through fear; but, when once their adverſaries had made peace, and acknowledged themſelves their ſubjects, to gratify them, and yield to any thing they could, reaſonably, deſire. And this greatneſs of mind the commonwealth has preſerved to this day, under many great dangers both in foreign, and domeſtic wars.

XXXVII. The ſenate having come to this reſolution, appointed ten other conſular ſenators to go to Marcius in quality of embaſſadors with inſtructions to deſire him not to command any thing, that was ſevere, or unworthy of their commonwealth; but to lay aſide his reſentment, and, withdrawing his forces from their territories, to endeavour to obtain the terms he propoſed by perſuaſion, and conciliatory language, if he deſired to unite the two nations by a firm, and everlaſting peace; ſince all treaties, both public and

and private, that are entered into through neceſſity, or in ſubſerviency to conjunctures, are ſoon diſſolved, when the conjunctures, or the neceſſity ceaſes. The embaſſadors appointed by the ſenate, being informed of the arrival of Marcius, repaired to him, and uſed many arguments to gain him, preſerving, however, in every thing they ſaid, the dignity of their commonwealth. Marcius made them no other anſwer than that he adviſed them to take ſome better reſolution, and to return within three days; after which, the truce ſhould expire. And, when the deputies were preparing to make ſome anſwer to this, he would not ſuffer it; but ordered them to leave the camp immediately, threatening, if they did not, to treat them as ſpies: Upon which, they withdrew in ſilence, and preſently departed. The ſenate, being informed by the deputies both of the haughty anſwers, and threats of Marcius, did not, even then, come to a reſolution of ſending out an army, from a diſtruſt either of the inexperience of their ſoldiers, moſt of them being new raiſed, or of the puſillanimity of the conſuls; as theſe had not the leaſt ſhare of activity: For which reaſons, they thought it dangerous to hazard a battle of ſo great conſequence. It is poſſible alſo, that the gods, the auſpices, the Sibylline books, or ſome received ſcruples of religion may have deterred them from it; which the men of that age did not think fit to neglect, like Thoſe of this: However, they reſolved to guard the city with greater caution, and to defend themſelves from their works, whenever they ſhould be attacked.

XXXVIII.

XXXVIII. While they were employed in theſe preparations, and had not yet given over all hopes of prevailing on Marcius to relent, if they ſent embaſſadors of greater weight, and dignity to intercede for them, they reſolved to depute the pontifs, the augurs, and all the reſt, who were inveſted with any holy dignity, or public miniſtry relating to divine worſhip: There being among them great numbers of prieſts, and miniſters of religion, who are the moſt diſtinguiſhed of all others on account both of their families, and their own virtues; and that theſe ſhould carry with them the ſymbols of the gods, whoſe rites, and worſhip they performed, and go in a body to the enemy's camp, clad in their prieſtly garments, and uſe the ſame intreaties with the former deputies. After they were arrived, and had acquainted Marcius with the inſtructions they had received from the ſenate, he made no other anſwer even to theſe, than to give them notice either to depart, and obey his commands, if they deſired peace, or to expect the war at their gates: And forbid any application to him for the future. When the Romans found themſelves diſappointed in this attempt alſo, they abſolutely deſpaired of peace, and prepared for a ſiege, diſpoſing the ableſt of their men near the ditch, and at the gates; and thoſe, who were diſcharged from the ſervice, but not yet incapable of bearing the fatigues of war, they placed upon the walls.

XXXIX. In the mean time, their wives, ſeeing the danger at hand, and forgetting the decency of domeſtic retirement, ran to the temples of the gods with lamentations, and threw

threw themſelves at the feet of their ſtatues: And every holy place, particularly the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, was filled with the cries, and ſupplications of the women. Then it was that one of them, by name Valeria, a lady diſtinguiſhed by her birth, and dignity, and indued with the greateſt prudence, the effect of her age, and ſiſter to Poplicola, one of thoſe, who freed the commonwealth from the tyranny of their kings, moved by ſome divine impulſe, placed herſelf upon the upper landing of the ſtairs, that lead to the temple; and, calling the reſt of the women to her, ſhe firſt comforted, and encouraged them, deſiring they would not be aſtoniſhed at the danger, that threatened them: She then aſſured them there was one hope left to preſerve their country, which was placed in them alone, if they would do their duty: Upon this, one of them ſaid; "And what can we women do to ſave our "country, when the men have given it up for loſt? What "ſtrength ſo great are we weak, and miſerable women "poſſeſſed of?" "We have no occaſion for arms, or "ſtrength, replied Valeria (for nature has excuſed us from "the uſe of theſe) but for zeal, and eloquence." And all crying out, and begging of her to explain what aſſiſtance ſhe meant, Valeria ſaid; "Let us go to the houſe of Ve-"turia, the mother of Marcius, in this mourning, and "negligent apparel, and take with us the reſt of the women, "and their children; and, placing theſe at her feet, let us "intreat her with tears to have compaſſion both of us, who "have given her no cauſe of grief, and of her country,

"now

" now expoſed to the greateſt danger; and that ſhe will " go to the enemy's camp with her grandchildren, and " their mother, and take us all with her (for we muſt attend " her with the children) and, making ſupplication to her " ſon, beg and conjure him not to inflict any irreparable " miſchief on his country: For, while ſhe is lamenting, and " intreating, compaſſion, and humanity will find their " way to his heart, which is not ſo obdurate and inexorable, " as to allow him to ſee his mother at his feet without " emotion."

XL. This advice being approved of by all the women who were preſent, ſhe prayed to the gods to inſpire their interceſſion with perſuaſion, and the Graces; and then went from the temple; the others followed her; and, after that, taking with them the reſt of the women, they went all together to the houſe of the mother of Marcius. Volumnia, his wife, ſaw them coming, as ſhe ſate near her mother-in-law; and, being ſurpriſed at their arrival, ſaid; " What occaſion, " ladies, has brought you in ſuch numbers to an unfortu- " nate, and diſtreſſed family?" Then Valeria replied; " Both we ourſelves, and theſe children, now expoſed to " the greateſt danger, fly to you, Veturia, with ſupplica- " tions, as to our only help, and intreat you, firſt, to take " compaſſion of our common country; and not to ſuffer " that country, which has been hitherto unconquered, to " be inſlaved by the Volſci; unleſs, indeed, they themſelves " ſhould ſpare it after their conqueſt, and not endeavour, " utterly, to deſtroy it: And, in the next place, we intreat

" you

" you in favor of ourſelves, and of theſe unfortunate children,
" that we may not be expoſed to the inſults of the enemy,
" we, who have occaſioned none of the evils, that have
" befallen your family. If there yet remains in you any
" ſpark of a mild, and humane diſpoſition, you, who are a
" woman, Veturia, have mercy on women, who, once,
" partook with you of the ſame ſacrifices, and of the ſame
" rites; and, taking with you Volumnia, the virtuous wife
" of Marcius, and her children, and us alſo, who are your
" ſuppliants, with theſe infants in our arms, go to your ſon;
" perſuade, preſs, ceaſe not to intreat, and aſk this one favor
" of him in return for many, that he will make peace with
" his fellow-citizens, and return to his country, that longs
" to receive him. Be aſſured that you will prevail; a man
" of his piety will not ſuffer you to lie proſtrate at his feet
" in vain: And, when you have brought your ſon back to
" Rome, you yourſelf will gain immortal glory, as you may
" well expect, for having freed your country from ſo great
" a danger, and ſuch an alarm; and you will cauſe us to be
" honoured by our huſbands, for having ourſelves compoſed
" a war, which it was not in their power to diſpel; and we
" ſhall ſhew ourſelves to be the true deſcendants of thoſe
" women, who, by their own interpoſition, put an end to
" the war, in which Romulus, and the Sabines were ingaged;
" and, by reconciling both the commanders, and the nations,
" raiſed this city, from a ſmall beginning, to its preſent
" greatneſs. It is a glorious attempt, Veturia, to recover
" your ſon, to free your country, to ſave your fellow-

" citizens, and leave an immortal glory to poſterity. Grant " us this favor with chearfulneſs, and alacrity, and haſten " your departure, Veturia: For the danger is ſwift, and " admits neither deliberation, nor delay."

XLI. Having ſaid this, and ſhed many tears, ſhe was ſilent; and the other women lamenting alſo, and adding many intreaties, Veturia, after a ſhort pauſe, and weeping, ſaid; " You fly to a weak, and ſlender hope, Valeria, the " aſſiſtance of us wretched women, who love, indeed, " our country, and deſire the preſervation of our fellow- " citizens, however they may deſerve it; but want the " ſtrength, and power to do what we deſire. Marcius is " averſe to us, Valeria, from the time the people paſſed that " ſevere ſentence againſt him; and hates his whole family, " together with his country. This we can aſſure you of, as " of a thing we know from Marcius himſelf, and from no " other perſon: For, when, after his condemnation, he " came home conducted by his friends, and found us in " diſtreſs, and clad in mourning, with his children upon our " knees, lamenting with reaſon, and bewailing the unhappy " fate, to which the loſs of him would, now, expoſe us, he " ſtood at a ſmall diſtance; his eyes were like Thoſe of a " ſtatue, without tears, and without motion; Mother, ſays " he, and you, Volumnia, the beſt of women, you have loſt " Marcius; he is expelled the city by his fellow-citizens, " becauſe he was a brave man, and a lover of his country, " and ſuſtained many conteſts for her ſake; do you bear " this calamity, like women of worth, without deſcending

" to

" to any unbecoming, any ungenerous action; and educate
" theſe children, the conſolation of my abſence, in a manner
" worthy both of me, and of their birth; and, when they
" are grown up, may the gods grant them [29] better fortune
" than their father, and not leſs virtue: Farewell; I now
" depart, and leave a city, in which there is, no longer, any
" room for a good man; and you, my houſhold gods, and
" my paternal altar, and you genius's, who preſide over this
" place, farewell. After he had ſaid this, we, unfortunate
" women, gave way to thoſe lamentations, which our diſtreſs
" ſuggeſted; and, beating our breaſts, hung about him to
" receive his laſt embraces; I had, then, the eldeſt of theſe
" his ſons by the hand, and the youngeſt his mother carried
" in her arms: But he turned from us; and, thruſting us
" back, ſaid; Marcius, from this time, ſhall neither be your
" ſon, mother, my country having deprived you of the ſup-
" port of your age; nor your huſband, Volumnia, from
" this day, may you be happy in another, more fortunate
" than I am! Neither ſhall I be your father, moſt dear

29. Τυχην μεν κρειττονα τε παλρος, αρετην δε μη χειρονα. It is very ungenerous in the French tranſlators to tranſlate the notes in Hudſon, word for word, without the leaſt acknowledgement to the commentators, from whom they took them. This I have, often, taken notice of; and am ſorry they give me ſo frequent occaſions to take notice of it. Here, le Jay has tranſlated a note of Caſaubon, who obſerves that our author has imitated Sophocles upon this occaſion: Caſaubon has not ſaid in what tragedy of that poet theſe verſes are to be found: However, they are in his Αιας μαστιγοφορος, where Ajax ſays to his ſon:

Ω παι, γενοιο παιδος ευτυχεστερος,
Τα δ' αλλ' ομοιος· και γενοι' αν ουκακος.

The reader will obſerve that this paſſage of our author is very far from being a cloſe imitation of Sophocles.

[29] ſ. 550.

" children; but I muſt leave you orphans, and deſtitute,
" to be brought up by theſe women, till you are men.
" Having ſaid this, he went out of the houſe alone, without
" taking any care of his domeſtic affairs, giving any orders, or
" ſaying whither he was going, without a ſervant, without
" money, and without taking from his own fortunes, wretch-
" ed man, enough for the ſupport even of one day. This is
" the fourth year, ſince he was baniſhed; and, during that
" time, he has looked upon us all as ſtrangers, neither
" writing, nor ſending to us, nor deſiring to hear any thing
" concerning us. On a mind ſo formed, ſo hard and in-
" flexible, Valeria, what influence can we, by our intreaties
" have, from whom, when he left his houſe for the laſt time,
" he withheld his embraces, his tenderneſs, and every other
" mark of affection?

XLII. " But, if you deſire even this, ladies, and are, ab-
" ſolutely, reſolved to ſee us act this unbecoming part,
" imagine that I, and Volumnia, with theſe children, preſent
" ourſelves before him: In what manner ſhall I, his mother,
" firſt addreſs him? What intreaty ſhall I employ to my
" ſon? Tell me, and teach me what I am to ſay. Shall I
" exhort him to ſpare his fellow-citizens, by whom, though
" innocent, he was expelled his country? That he ſhould
" be merciful, and compaſſionate to the plebeians, from
" whom he found neither mercy, nor compaſſion? That he
" ſhould abandon, and betray thoſe, who received him,
" when an exile; and, notwithſtanding the many dreadful
" calamities he had inflicted on them, treated him, not
" with

" with the hatred of an enemy, but with the benevolence " of friends, and relations? What ſentiments muſt I enter- " tain to deſire my ſon to love thoſe who have ruined him, " and to injure thoſe who have preſerved him? This is not " the language of a ſenſible mother to her ſon, nor of a " conſiderate wife to her huſband. Compel us not, ladies, " to deſire thoſe things of him, that are neither juſt with " regard to men, nor pious with regard to the gods; but " ſuffer us miſerable women to continue in the low condi- " tion, to which Fortune has reduced us, without expoſing " ourſelves, ſtill more, by an unbecoming behaviour."

XLIII. After ſhe had done ſpeaking, there was ſo great a lamentation of the women who were preſent, and the houſe reſounded with cries ſo loud, that the noiſe was heard through great part of the city, and the ſtreets, near the houſe, were filled with a concourſe of people. Then Valeria again urged, with greater warmth, many long and affecting intreaties, and all the reſt of the women, who had any connexion of friendſhip, or relation with either of them, continued preſſing them, and laying hold on their knees: So that, Veturia, unable to reſiſt their lamentations, and reiterated intreaties, yielded, and promiſed to undertake the embaſſy in favor of her country, accompanied by the wife of Marcius, and his children, and by as many Roman matrons, as were willing to join them. The ladies rejoiced exceedingly at this, and invoked the gods to accompliſh their hopes; then, going out of the houſe, informed the conſuls of every thing that had paſſed: Theſe, having commended

their

their zeal, aſſembled the ſenate, and called upon the ſenators to deliver their opinions, ſeparately, whether they ought to ſuffer the women to go upon this embaſſy. Several ſpeeches were made, upon this occaſion, by many of the ſenators; and they continued till the evening in great perplexity: For ſome alledged that, to ſuffer the women with their children to go to the enemy's camp, was to expoſe the city to no ſmall danger; ſince, if the Volſci ſhould, in contempt of the eſtabliſhed rights of embaſſadors, and ſuppliants, not think fit, afterwards, to diſmiſs them, the city would be taken without a ſtroke. And theſe adviſed not to ſuffer any other women to go, but Thoſe, who were related to Marcius, together with his children. Others were of opinion that not even theſe ſhould be ſuffered to go; but that they ought to keep them ſafe, and eſteem them as effectual pledges to ſecure the city from any outrageous attempt of the enemy. But others adviſed to give leave to all the women, who deſired it, to go upon this occaſion; with this view, that the relations of Marcius might intercede in favor of their country with the greater dignity: And, to preſerve them from all danger, they ſaid, they would have for their ſureties, firſt, the gods, the protectors of ſuppliants; and, then, the man himſelf, to whom they were going, whoſe life was pure, and free from every ſtain of injuſtice, and impiety. At laſt, the opinion allowing the women to go carried it, greatly to the praiſe both of the ſenate, and of Marcius: Of the firſt, for their prudence in forming the beſt judgement of this incident, and in foreſeeing what would happen,

happen, without being deterred by ſo great a danger: And of Marcius, for his piety, who, though an enemy, was thought incapable of any thing impious towards the weak part of the city, when he ſhould have them in his power. After the decree was drawn up, the conſuls went to the forum; and, aſſembling the people, it being now dark, informed them of the contents of it; giving orders, at the ſame time, that all of them ſhould, early the next morning, preſent themſelves at the gates, to attend the women when they went out; and aſſured the people they would take care of every thing, that was neceſſary.

XLIV. When it was near break of day, the women went with torches to the houſe of Veturia, leading their children; and, taking her with them, proceeded to the gates. In the mean time, the conſuls, having prepared mules, chariots, and many other carriages, conducted them a conſiderable way. The women were followed by the ſenators, and many other citizens, who, by their vows, commendations, and prayers, gave a luſtre to the proceſſion. As ſoon as they were diſcovered at a diſtance by thoſe in the camp, Marcius ſent ſome horſe, with orders to inquire what multitude it was, that advanced from the city, and what was the cauſe of their coming: And, being informed by them that the wives of the Romans, together with their children, were coming to him, and that they were preceded by his mother, his wife, and his ſons, he was, at firſt, aſtoniſhed at the aſſurance of the women, in reſolving to come with their children into an enemy's camp, unattended by men, without any regard to the modeſty

modeſty becoming women of free condition, and virtue, which forbids them to be ſeen by ſtrangers, and without apprehending the danger, which they expoſed themſelves to, if his ſoldiers, preferring their intereſt to juſtice, ſhould think fit to make a profit, and advantage of them. But, when they approached, he reſolved to go out of the camp, with a few of his men, and to meet his mother; having ordered his lictors to lay aſide the axes, which are, uſually, carried before generals; and, when he came near his mother, to lower the rods. This is a cuſtom obſerved by the Romans, when inferior magiſtrates meet Thoſe, who are their ſuperiors, which continues to this day. In obedience to this cuſtom, Marcius, as going to preſent himſelf before a ſuperior power, laid aſide all the enſigns of his own dignity. So great was his veneration, and piety to his parent.

XLV. When they came near to one another, his mother, firſt, advanced to ſalute him. Her mourning apparel, and her eyes ſwimming in tears, rendered her an object of great compaſſion: Whom when Marcius ſaw, who, till then, had ſhewn an inſenſibility, and firmneſs ſuperior to all impreſſions of grief, he became, no longer, maſter of his reſolution, but was hurried, by his affections, into ſentiments of humanity; and, embracing her, uſed the moſt tender appellations; and, for a long time, continued weeping; and cheriſhed, and ſupported her while ſhe was fainting, and ſinking to the ground: After he had ſatisfied his tenderneſs to his mother, he embraced his wife, and children, and ſaid; "Volumnia, you have acted the part of a good wife, in "living

" living with my mother; and, by not abandoning her in " her ſolitude, you have done me the greateſt of all favors." After this, he took both his children in his arms; and, having embraced them with the tenderneſs of a father, he turned, again, to his mother, and begged her to let him know what ſhe came to deſire of him. His mother anſwered, that ſhe would acquaint him with it in public, ſince ſhe had nothing criminal to requeſt of him; and deſired him to give her audience in the ſame place, in which he uſed to adminiſter juſtice to the people. Marcius, willingly, accepted the propoſal, not doubting but he ſhould be able, with numberleſs reaſons, to defeat the interceſſion of his mother; and he looked upon it, at the ſame time, as an honourable proceeding to give his anſwer in public. When he came to the general's tribunal, the firſt thing he did was to order the lictors to remove the ſeat that ſtood there, and to place it on the ground; as thinking it unbecoming in him to ſit in a higher place than his mother, or to make a ſhew of any power where ſhe was. Then, cauſing the moſt conſiderable of the generals, and the other officers to ſit by him, and permitting every one, who was willing, to be preſent, he deſired his mother to ſpeak.

XLVI. Upon which, Veturia, having placed the wife of Marcius, with his children, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the Roman matrons near her, firſt wept, fixing her eyes on the ground for a conſiderable time, and raiſed great compaſſion in all preſent; then, recovering herſelf, ſhe ſaid; " Theſe ladies, Marcius, my ſon, alarmed at the inſults, and

" every other calamity they will be expoſed to, if the enemy
" ſhall become maſters of Rome, and deſpairing of all other
" aſſiſtance, ſince you gave haughty, and ſevere anſwers
" to their huſbands when they deſired peace, accompanied
" with their children, and dreſſed in this mourning apparel,
" have fled for refuge to me your mother, and to Volumnia
" your wife;. and intreated us not to ſuffer them to be
" afflicted with the greateſt of all human evils by your
" means, ſince they have never done us the leaſt injury;
" but, on the contrary, have ſhewn great benevolence to us
" in our proſperity, and compaſſion in our adverſity: For
" we can teſtify in their favor that, ſince your departure,
" when we were left deſolate, and reduced to the loweſt
" condition, they, conſtantly, viſited us under our misfortunes,
" and condoled with us: In remembrance, therefore, of
" theſe things, neither did I myſelf, nor your wife, who lives
" with me, reject their ſupplication; but, as they deſired,
" we ſubmitted to come to you, and intercede in favor of
" our country."

XLVII. While ſhe was yet ſpeaking, Marcius interrupted her, and ſaid; " Mother, you are come to deſire impoſſibi-
" lities, in requiring me to betray to thoſe, who have driven
" me out of their country, a nation, that has received me;
" and, to thoſe, who have deprived me of all my fortunes,
" a people, who have conferred on me the greateſt of human
" advantages; and to whom, when I accepted this com-
" mand, I gave my faith, and called upon the gods, and
" genius's, as ſureties for my ſincerity, that I would
" neither

" neither betray their commonwealth, nor make peace
" without the conſent of the whole nation. Induced, there-
" fore, by the veneration I pay to the gods, by whom I
" have ſworn, and by the reſpect I bear to the men, to
" whom I have pledged my faith, I ſhall continue to make
" war upon the Romans to the laſt: But, if they will reſtore
" to the Volſci the lands, of which they have poſſeſſed
" themſelves by force, receive them into the number of their
" friends, and communicate to them the ſame equality of
" all rights they have conferred on the Latines, I will
" put an end to the war; otherwiſe, not. Return, therefore,
" ladies, and acquaint your huſbands with theſe things, and
" perſuade them not to take delight in the unjuſt poſſeſſion
" of what belongs to others; but to be contented, if they
" are ſuffered to enjoy their own; nor, in confidence of
" their having poſſeſſed themſelves of the Volſcian territories
" by arms, to ſtay till they are again deprived of them by
" arms: For the conquerors will not be ſatisfied with reco-
" vering their own, but will, alſo, think themſelves intitled
" to all, that belongs to the conquered. However, if they
" perſiſt in their haughtineſs, and reſolve to run all hazards,
" rather than part with what they have no right to, impute
" to them all the miſeries that will befall them, not to
" Marcius, to the Volſci, nor to any others. And I beg of
" you, mother, in my turn, your ſon begs of you, not to
" invite him to wicked, and unjuſt actions; not to eſpouſe
" the cauſe of thoſe men, who are the moſt implacable both
" to me, and to yourſelf; nor to look upon thoſe, as your

" enemies, who are your greateſt friends: But live with me,
" as it is reaſonable you ſhould, reſide in the ſame country
" where I reſide, and in the ſame houſe; enjoy my honors,
" ſhare in my glory, and look upon my friends, and ene-
" mies, as your own: Lay aſide this mourning, which my
" baniſhment induced you, miſerable woman, to put on,
" and ceaſe to torment me with this habit: For all other
" advantages have been conferred on me both by the gods,
" and men, above my hopes, and above my wiſhes: But
" the diſquiet I have felt for you, whoſe age I have not
" cheriſhed in return for all your pains, has taken ſuch poſ-
" ſeſſion of my mind, as to imbitter my life, and render all
" theſe bleſſings of no uſe to me: Whereas, if you will
" eſpouſe my intereſt, and partake of every thing I enjoy,
" I ſhall, then, want no happineſs, which human nature is
" capable of."

XLVIII. When he had ended, Veturia, after a ſhort pauſe, which laſted till the great, and iterated applauſes of the aſſembly ceaſed, ſpoke to him as follows; " Neither do
" I myſelf deſire you, Marcius, my ſon, to betray the Volſci,
" who received you when an exile; and, among other
" honors, intruſted you with the command of their army;
" or that, contrary to your agreement, and to the oaths you
" ſwore to them, when you accepted that command, you
" ſhould put an end to the war by your own authority
" without the conſent of the whole nation: Neither ſhould
" you imagine that the gods have ſo far deprived your mother
" of her ſenſes, as to make her capable of exhorting her dear,

" and

" and only ſon to ſhameful, and wicked actions: All that
" I deſire of you is, that you will lay down your arms by a
" general conſent, after you ſhall have perſuaded the Volſci
" to uſe moderation with regard to the terms of the treaty;
" and to make ſuch a peace, as ſhall be honourable and
" advantageous to both nations: This may be done, if you
" will make a truce for a year, and, now, withdraw your
" forces. In the mean time, you may, by ſending, and re-
" ceiving embaſſadors, effect a real peace, and a firm accom-
" modation. And be aſſured that the Romans will be in-
" duced by perſuaſion, and exhortation to ſubmit to any
" thing, that is neither impoſſible, nor diſhonourable: But,
" if you attempt to compel them, which is the method you,
" now, think fit to uſe, they will not grant any favors to you
" whatever, as you may learn from many other inſtances,
" but particularly, from the conceſſions they, lately, made to
" the Latines, after they laid down their arms. The Volſci
" are grown extremely haughty, which, uſually, happens to
" thoſe, who have great ſucceſs; but, if you will give them
" to underſtand that any peace is preferable to war; that a
" voluntary agreement between friends is more laſting than
" conceſſions extorted by neceſſity; that it is the part of
" wiſe men, when their affairs ſeem proſperous, to uſe their
" good fortune with economy; and, when they are in a
" diſtreſſed, and unfortunate ſituation, to ſubmit to nothing
" that is ungenerous. If you make uſe of theſe, and other
" arguments, calculated to inſpire ſentiments of humanity,
" and moderation, which you, who have the management
" of

" of civil affairs, are beſt acquainted with, they will, volun-
" tarily, deſcend from their preſent exaltation, and give you
" power to do every thing, which you ſhall judge moſt con-
" ducive to their intereſt: But, if they oppoſe you; and,
" elated with the advantages they have gained by your means,
" and under your command, as if they were always to laſt,
" refuſe to admit your reaſons, reſign the command publicly;
" and make yourſelf neither a traitor to thoſe, who have truſted
" you, nor an enemy to thoſe, who are neareſt to you: For
" both are impious. Theſe are the favors I am come to aſk
" of you, Marcius, my ſon, which are neither impoſſible to
" be granted, as you ſay; neither do they imply any con-
" ſciouſneſs of injuſtice, or impiety.

XLIX. " But, it ſeems, you are afraid, if you do what I
" adviſe, of incurring the infamy of ingratitude to your
" benefactors, who received you, when you were their enemy,
" and communicated to you all the advantages, which their
" natural born citizens are intitled to: For theſe are the
" things you are, ever, magnifying. And have you not
" made them many illuſtrious returns? And, by the inſtances
" you have given them of your gratitude, which are bound-
" leſs both in their extent, and number, exceeded their
" favors? They placed their whole ſatisfaction, and greateſt
" happineſs in being ſuffered to enjoy their liberty: You
" have, not only, ſecured them in the poſſeſſion of it, but
" enabled them, already, to deliberate whether it is more
" for their intereſt to ſubvert the power of the Romans, or
" to partake of it, by forming a commonwealth, in which

" both

" both nations will have an equal ſhare. I ſay nothing of
" the ſpoils, with which you have adorned their cities, nor of
" the immenſe riches you have beſtowed upon thoſe, who
" accompanied you in your expeditions. When they have
" been thus aggrandized by you, and raiſed to ſuch pro-
" ſperity, do you think they will not reſt ſatisfied with the
" advantages they poſſeſs, but be angry with you, and ex-
" aſperated, if you do not, alſo, pour out, by their hands,
" the blood of your fellow-citizens? For my part, I do not
" think ſo. There, yet, remains one point for me to ſpeak
" to, which, if you judge of it by your reaſon, will have
" great weight with you; but, if by your paſſion, none:
" This relates to the unjuſt hatred you bear to your country;
" which was neither in a ſtate of health, nor governed by
" her eſtabliſhed laws, when ſhe pronounced that unjuſt
" ſentence againſt you, but diſtempered, and toſſed in a
" violent tempeſt; neither did all the people concur in it;
" the worſt part of them only, miſled by evil leaders, de-
" claring themſelves againſt you. But, if, not only, the
" worſt of the citizens, but all the reſt had concurred in
" your condemnation, and you had been baniſhed by them,
" as a promoter of meaſures not of the beſt ſort; even in
" that caſe, it did not become you to bear any reſentment
" againſt your country: For the ſame thing has, alſo, hap-
" pened to many others, who purſued the beſt meaſures;
" and there are few, whoſe virtue, though acknowledged,
" has not been expoſed to the unjuſt envy of their fellow-
" citizens: But all generous men bear theſe calamities like
" men,

" men, and with moderation; and remove to other cities,
" in which they live without giving offence to their country.
" This was the conduct of Tarquinius, ſurnamed Collatinus
" (a domeſtic example, and proper for you to imitate) the
" ſame perſon, who aſſiſted in delivering his country from
" the tyrants; and, being, afterwards, accuſed of ingaging
" in the conſpiracy to reſtore them, and, for that reaſon,
" baniſhed, he retained no reſentment againſt thoſe, who
" had baniſhed him, neither did he invade his country in
" conjunction with the tyrants, nor ſuffer his actions to prove
" the truth of that charge; but, retiring to Lavinium, our
" mother city, he ſpent the remainder of his life there, and
" continued an affectionate friend to his country.

L. " However, let all, who have ſuffered great injuries,
" be allowed not to diſtinguiſh whether thoſe, who have
" injured them, are friends, or enemies, but to extend their
" anger alike to all; even in that caſe, have you not taken
" a ſufficient revenge on ſuch as abuſed you, by laying waſte
" the beſt part of their country, by ſacking the towns of their
" allies, which they had acquired with great labor, and
" reducing them, now for the third year, to a great want of
" all neceſſaries? But you carry your wild, and mad revenge
" ſo far, as to deſire even to inſlave them, and ſubvert their
" city. You ſhewed no regard either to the perſons deputed
" to you by the ſenate, men of worth, and your friends,
" who came to offer you your pardon, and leave to return
" to your family; or to the prieſts, whom the common-
" wealth ſent laſt to you, whoſe age deſerved reſpect,

" as

" as well as the holy garlands of the gods, which they bore " in their hands; but theſe, alſo, you rejected, and gave " haughty, and imperious anſwers to them, as to a con- " quered enemy. For my part, I cannot commend theſe " ſevere, and overbearing pretenſions, which exceed the " bounds of human nature, ſince I obſerve that ſupplications, " and prayers, when the injurer flies to the injured with " humility, have been found out as a refuge for all men, " and a deprecation of their mutual offences; a cuſtom " eſtabliſhed by the gods for our imitation: By thoſe all " anger is ſoftened, and, inſtead of hating our enemy, we " pity him: But I obſerve, alſo, that the haughty, and all " who inſult over the prayers of their ſuppliants, incur the " indignation of the gods, and come to a miſerable end: " For the gods themſelves, who firſt inſtituted, and delivered " to us theſe laws, forgive the offences of men, and are, " eaſily, reconciled; and many there are, who, after they " had, greatly, offended them, have appeaſed their anger " by prayers, and ſacrifices: Unleſs you are of opinion, " Marcius, that the anger of the gods ought to be mortal; " but That of men, immortal. You, therefore, will act with " juſtice, and in a manner that becomes you, if you alſo for- " give the offences of your country, who repents, deſires to " be reconciled, and reſtores to you every thing ſhe has " taken from you.

LI. " But, if you are irreconcileable to her, grant this " honor, and favor to me, from whom you have received " benefits not of the leaſt value, which none elſe can claim,

" and ſuch as are of the greateſt conſideration, and eſteem,
" and with which you have acquired every thing elſe you
" are poſſeſſed of, I mean, your body, and your mind:
" Theſe are debts you owe to me, which no place, no time
" can ever deprive me of; neither can the favors of the
" Volſci, or of all the reſt of mankind, however extenſive,
" ſo far prevail, as to efface, and ſurpaſs, the rights of nature;
" but you will be ever mine; and you will owe to me,
" preferably to all others, the favor of life, and you will oblige
" me in every thing I deſire, without alledging any excuſe:
" For this is a right, which the law of nature has preſcribed
" to all, who partake of ſenſe, and reaſon. Confiding in
" this law, Marcius, my ſon, I beg of you not to make war
" upon your country; and, if you offer violence, I oppoſe
" you: Either, therefore, firſt, ſacrifice with your own hand
" to the Furies your mother, who oppoſes you, and, then,
" begin the war againſt your country; or, trembling at the
" crime of parricide, yield to your mother, and grant, my
" ſon, this favor willingly. Supported, and aſſiſted by this
" law, which no time has ever repealed, I do not think fit,
" Marcius, to be alone deprived by you of the honors I am
" intitled to under it. But, to omit this law, remember the
" good offices you have received from me, and conſider how
" many, and how great they are: You were left an orphan
" by your father, and an infant, when I took you under
" my care; for your ſake, I continued a widow, and under-
" went the trouble of bringing you up, ſhewing myſelf
" not only a mother to you, but alſo a father, a nurſe, a
" ſiſter,

" ſiſter, and every thing, that is moſt endearing. When " you were a man, and it was in my power to be freed from " theſe cares by marrying another, to breed up other chil- " dren, and prepare for myſelf the hopes of many ſupports of " my old age, I would not do it, but remained in the ſame " houſe, and contented myſelf with the ſame courſe of life; " placing all my pleaſures, and all my advantages in you " alone: Of theſe you have diſappointed me, partly againſt " your will, and partly of your own accord, and have made " me the moſt wretched of all mothers. What time have I " paſſed, ſince I brought you up to manhood, without grief, " or fear? Or when had I a chearful mind on your account, " ſeeing you, always, undertaking wars upon wars, ingag- " ed in battles upon battles, and receiving wounds upon " wounds?

LII. " But, ſince you had a ſhare in the government, " and in the adminiſtration of public affairs, your mother, " perhaps, has enjoyed ſome pleaſure by your means: Then " was I moſt unhappy, ſeeing you deeply ingaged in a " party. For thoſe very meaſures, which you ſeemed to " purſue with applauſe, in oppoſing the plebeians with ſo " much ſpirit in favor of the ariſtocracy, filled me with fear, " when I conſidered that [30] human events ſtand upon a

30. Τον ανθρωπινον βιον. Both the Latin tranſlators have rendered this, *vita humana*; in which they have been followed by the French tranſlators. Βιος is a word of a very extenſive ſignification in Greek: It ſignifies, among other things, *human events*; which is the ſenſe I have given to this paſſage: And in this ſenſe it is uſed by [t] Thucydides; when, ſpeaking of the Athenians after their miſcarriage in Sicily, he ſays; οι δε τι εν τοις ανθρωποις TOT BIOT

[t] B. viii. c. 24.

" point; and knew, by the many inſtances I had heard, and " ſeen, that ſome divine wrath, always, oppoſes illuſtrious " men, or human envy attacks them: And the event has " too well juſtified my prediction. The envy of your fellow-" citizens [31] ruſhed on you, like a torrent, and carried you " far from your country. From this time, my life (if I " may call it ſo, ſince you departed leaving me deſolate with " theſe children) has been ſpent in this wretched condition, " and in this mourning apparel. In return for all theſe " things, I, who was never uneaſy to you, nor ever ſhall be " while I live, aſk this favor of you, that you will, at laſt, " be reconciled to your fellow-citizens, and lay aſide your " implacable anger againſt your country. The favor I aſk " will prove an advantage to us both, and not to me alone: " For, if you hearken to me, and commit no irreparable " crime, you will enjoy a mind pure, and free from all " apprehenſions of the divine anger; and my life will be " rendered happy by the honor I ſhall receive from my " fellow-citizens of both ſexes while I live; and that honor, " when it ſhall be paid to my memory, as it may well be

παραλογοις εσφαλησαν. Our author ſeems to have had a thought of [a] Homer in his eye, though he has given it a different dreſs: After the Trojans had approached the navy of the Greeks with their victorious troops, Neſtor ſays to Diomed,

Νυν γαρ δη παντεσσιν επι ξυρη ισταται ακμης.

The ſenſe of which, Pope has, very well, expreſſed;

Each ſingle Greek, in this concluſive ſtrife,
Stands on the ſharpeſt edge of death, or life.

31. Επιῤῥαξας—ανηρπασεν. Neither the Latin, nor the French tranſlators have preſerved the force of theſe words in their verſions. They are, plainly, relative to a torrent; and are the ſame, which the beſt Greek writers make uſe of in ſpeaking of a torrent.

[a] Il. K. ν. 173.

" ex-

" expected, after I am dead, will cauſe my name to be for
" ever celebrated: And, if there is any place appointed for
" the reception of human ſouls, after they are diſengaged
" from the body, that ſubterraneous, and gloomy place, the
" habitation, as it is ſaid, of the unfortunate, will not receive
" mine, nor the field of Lethe, as it is called; but the
" exalted, and pure ether, where, they ſay, thoſe, who are
" deſcended from the gods, lead a happy, and a bleſſed life;
" to whom ſhe will relate your piety, and the favors, with
" which you adorned her, and, always, beg of the gods to
" make you ſome illuſtrious returns.

LIII. " But, if you treat your mother with indignity, and
" ſend her away with diſhonor, what ſufferings you may
" draw upon yourſelf for this, I ſhall not pretend to ſay;
" but I foreſee nothing happy: However, this I know, that,
" ſhould you, even, be fortunate in every thing elſe, for I
" will ſuppoſe this, the pain occaſioned by me, and my
" afflictions, will perſecute you, never give reſt to your
" mind, and render your life inſenſible of every pleaſure:
" For Veturia, after this cruel, and irreparable ignominy
" received before ſo many witneſſes, will not bear to live a
" moment: But I will kill myſelf in the preſence of all
" theſe, both friends, and enemies, and bequeath to you, in
" my room, a dreadful imprecation, and dire Furies to be
" my avengers. May there be no occaſion for this, O gods,
" who guard the Roman empire; but inſpire Marcius with
" ſentiments of piety, and honor: And, as, juſt now at my
" approach, he ordered the axes to be laid aſide, the rods

" to

" to be lowered, and his ſeat to be taken from the tribunal,
" and placed on the ground; and, of all the other enſigns,
" that are the uſual ornaments of abſolute magiſtracy, ſome
" he leſſened, and others he quite removed, with an inten-
" tion to make it manifeſt to all, that he had a right to
" command others, and his mother to command him: So
" may he, now alſo, make me honoured, and conſpicuous;
" and, by remitting our common country at my requeſt,
" inſtead of the moſt unfortunate, render me the moſt
" fortunate, of all women. If it was becoming, and lawful
" for a mother to throw herſelf at the feet of her ſon, even
" to this, and every other poſture, and office of humility
" would I ſubmit, to ſave my country."

LIV. Having ſaid this, ſhe threw herſelf upon the ground; and, embracing the feet of Marcius with both her hands, ſhe kiſſed them: As ſoon as ſhe fell proſtrate, all the women cried out together, uttering a loud, and long lamentation. Even the Volſci, who were preſent at the aſſembly, could not bear the unuſual ſight, but turned away their eyes. And Marcius himſelf, leaping from his ſeat, took his mother in his arms; and, raiſing her up from the ground ſcarce breathing, he embraced her, and with many tears ſaid; " O mother, you have gained a victory, that will prove
" fatal both to yourſelf, and me: For you have ſaved your
" country, but ruined me your pious, and affectionate ſon."
After he had ſaid this, he went to his tent, and deſired his mother, his wife, and his children to follow him; where he paſſed the reſt of the day in conſidering with them, what

was

was to be done: And the reſolutions they came to were theſe: That the ſenate ſhould lay nothing before the people relating to his return, nor theſe paſs any vote concerning it, till all the articles of friendſhip, and peace ſhould be ſettled with the Volſci: That Marcius ſhould withdraw his forces, and march through the Roman territories, as through the territories of his allies: And, after he had given an account to the Volſci of his conduct in the command of their army, and diſplayed the ſervices he had done them, that he ſhould deſire thoſe, who had intruſted him with that command, by all means to admit their enemies into the number of their friends, to conclude a treaty with them founded on juſtice, and to commiſſion him to take care that the terms of that treaty were equal to both nations, and not inſidious: But if, elated with pride from their late ſucceſſes, they rejected an accommodation, that he ſhould reſign the command. For they concluded that the Volſci would either not bear the thoughts of chuſing another commander for want of a good general; or, if they did run the hazard of giving the command of their forces to any other, their great loſs would teach them to purſue ſuch meaſures, as ſhould be to their advantage. Theſe were the ſubjects of their conſideration, and theſe their reſolutions; which they looked upon to be juſt, pious, and reputable, the point Marcius had moſt at heart. But they were alarmed with a ſuſpicion, mixed with fear, leſt the thoughtleſs multitude, now buoyed up with the opinion of having, already, conquered the enemy, ſhould reſent the diſappointment in an outrageous

rageous manner; and, in conſequence of that reſentment, put him to death with their own hands, as a traitor, without giving him time to ſay any thing in his defence. However, they determined to ſubmit even to this, or to any other danger ſtill more formidable, which they might be expoſed to in performing their ingagement with fidelity. And, when it was near ſun ſet, they embraced one another, and went out of the tent: After which, the women returned to the city. Then Marcius, aſſembling his troops, laid before them the reaſons, which had induced him to put an end to the war; and uſed many intreaties with his ſoldiers both to forgive him, and, when they returned home, to protect him from the violence of their fellow-citizens, in remembrance of the benefits they had received from him: And, having ſaid many other things to ingage them in his defence, he ordered them to prepare themſelves to decamp the following night.

LV. When the Romans heard that the danger was over (for the report of it was brought to Rome before the arrival of the women) they ran out of the city with great joy to meet them; and, embracing them, ſung triumphal ſongs; and all in general, and every one in particular, ſhewed all thoſe ſigns of exultation, which men, who emerge out of great dangers to unexpected felicity, expreſs both in their words, and actions. That night, therefore, they paſſed in feaſts, and rejoicings. The next day, the ſenate, being aſſembled by the conſuls, reſolved to poſtpone the honors deſigned to be conferred on Marcius to a more proper ſeaſon: But

But ordered that praiſe ſhould, immediately, be given to the women, in return for their zeal; which praiſe ſhould be perpetuated to poſterity by a public inſcription; and ſuch a reward, as to the women, who were to receive it, ſhould appear moſt grateful and honourable. Theſe, after conſultation, reſolved not to aſk any invidious gift, but to deſire the ſenate would give them leave to erect a temple to Female Fortune [32] in the ſame place, where they had interceded for their country; and that they might aſſemble, and perform annual ſacrifices to her on the day they had put an end to the war. And the ſenate, and people decreed that an [33] area ſhould be purchaſed with the public money, and conſecrated to the goddeſs, and that, upon it, a temple, and an altar ſhould be erected in ſuch a manner, as the pontifs

32. Εν ᾧ τας περι της πολεως ετοιησαντο λιτας χωριῳ. Portus has miſtaken this paſſage, both in his tranſlation, and in his note referring to it, in which he reads ποιησαιντο, for ετοιησαντο. This Sylburgius has obſerved, and, with great ſagacity, ſubſtituted χωριῳ in the room of χωρις; which alteration is juſtified by the Vatican manuſcript, though it is plain he had never ſeen it: Sylburgius, alſo, ſhews from a paſſage in Valerius Maximus, that the *templum Fortunae muliebris*, erected upon this occaſion, ſtood near the Latin way, four miles from Rome: The words of [w] Valerius Maximus are as follows: *Fortunae etiam Muliebris ſimulacrum, quod eſt in Viâ Latinâ ad quartum miliarium, eo tempore cum aede ſuâ conſecratum, quo Coriolanum ab excidio urbis maternae preces repulerunt:* From this paſſage, Sylburgius concludes that this temple was erected *in the ſame place*, where the mother of Coriolanus prevailed on her ſon to ſpare his country. I agree with him that the temple was erected in the ſame place; but This I gather from the words of our author, not from the paſſage he has quoted; becauſe, it is plain, by all the rules of Grammar, that *quo* relates to *eo tempore*, not to *quartum milliarium*. M. * * * has inſerted this note of Sylburgius among his own without mentioning his name. Le Jay has tranſlated the ſame note, and the ſame miſtake.

33. Τεμενος. See the 102d annotation on the firſt book.

[w] B. i. c. 8.

ſhould direct, and ſacrifices performed at the public expence; and that a woman, to be choſen by themſelves, ſhould begin the ſacrifice, and preſide in this ceremony. After this decree of the ſenate, Valeria, who had firſt propoſed the embaſſy, and prevailed upon the mother of Marcius to concur in it, was appointed prieſteſs by the women. And theſe offered up the firſt ſacrifice for the people, Valeria preſiding, upon the altar raiſed on the area, before the temple and the ſtatue were erected, in the month of December in the following year, on the day of the new moon, [34] which the

[34] Ην Ελληνες μεν νουμηνιαν, Ρωμαιοι δε Καλανδας καλεσι. The year, at that time in uſe among the Romans, was the Pompilian year, inſtituted by Numa Pompilius, which continued till Julius Caeſar reformed it. This year was, properly, luni-ſolar; becauſe, though the twelve ſynodical months, of which it conſiſted, did not amount to more than 354 days, yet this defect was ſupplied by intercalary days, by which this lunar year was brought nearly to the ſolar year: The Greek year alſo, which, being lunar, conſiſted of no more than 354 days, was brought to the ſolar year by an intercalation of ſeven months in nineteen years, invented by Meton, and, from him, this luni-ſolar year was called Μεϖωνος ενιαυτος. The νουμηνια, or the day of the new moon, was the firſt day of the month with the Greeks, and the calends the firſt day of the month with the Romans: Theſe had, alſo, their nones, and ides; both which were moveable, and their calends fixed: As for example; the nones of March, May, July, and October fell on the ſeventh days of thoſe months, which nones were, for that reaſon, called *Nonae ſeptimanae*; and the nones of all the reſt of the months on the fifth days of thoſe months, and were called *Nonae quintanae*. The ides, called ſo, as [*] Macrobius ſays, from the Tuſcan word *iduare*, which ſignified *to divide*, were governed by the nones: For, as the ides were nine days after the nones, including both, when the nones happened on the fifth day of the month, the ides fell out on the thirteenth; and, when the nones were on the ſeventh, the ides were on the fifteenth. By all this it appears, that the day before the nones of Quintilis (July) was the ſixth of that month, as the text has been corrected by Glareanus, and Portus; and the dedication of this temple ſtands in the old Roman calendar, I find, on that day, and not on the ſeventh, as it is in all the editions, and manuſcripts. This laſt

[*] Sat. i. c. 15.

Greeks

Greeks call Νεμηνιαν, and the Romans, *Kalendas*, this being the day, that put an end to the war. The year after the firſt ſacrifice, the temple, built at the expence of the public, was finiſhed, and conſecrated, exactly, on the ſixth day of the month Quintilis according to the courſe of the moon; this being, as the Romans compute, the day before the nones of the month Quintilis. The perſon, who conſecrated this temple, was Proculus Virginius, one of the conſuls.

LVI. It may be agreeable to the purpoſe of this hiſtory, and conducive to the reformation of thoſe, who think that the gods are neither pleaſed with the honors they receive from men, nor diſpleaſed with impious, and unjuſt actions, to relate the manifeſtation this goddeſs gave of her preſence at that time, not once, but twice, as it is recorded in the [35] books of the pontifs; to the end that thoſe, who, religiouſly, adhere to the opinions they have received from their anceſtors concerning the gods, may have no cauſe either to repent of their belief, or ever to change it; and that ſuch, as deſpiſe the cuſtoms of their forefathers, and

reading, however, has been eſpouſed by M. ***, though not by le Jay: The former ſupports it by a very extraordinary ſuppoſition in his note upon this paſſage; he imagines that Dionyſius found in the Latin authors, from whom he collected his hiſtory, that the temple of *Fortuna muliebris* was dedicated *ante diem nonas Quintilis*, *pour marquer le jour des nones*, which he tranſlated, literally, into Greek. In the firſt place, I ſhall not, readily, allow that Dionyſius could have met with that expreſſion in any good Roman writer for the nones of Quintilis: They would have rather ſaid, I imagine, *nonis*, for the day of the nones, and *pridie nonas*, for the day before. But, whatever expreſſion he might have found in any Roman hiſtorian, I am apt to believe that he underſtood the force of it, better than either that gentleman who condemns him, or I who defend him.

35· Ιερο Φανλων—γραφαι. See the 234th annotation on the firſt book.

hold that the gods have no power over the deſigns of men, may, if poſſible, alter their opinion; but, if they are incurable, that they may become ſtill more odious to the gods, and, conſequently, more miſerable. It is recorded, therefore, that the ſenate having ordered that the whole expence both of the temple, and of the ſtatue, ſhould be defrayed by the public; and the women having cauſed another ſtatue to be made with the money they had contributed among themſelves; and both of them being dedicated together on the firſt day of the conſecration of the temple, one of the ſtatues, being That which the women had provided, ſpoke intelligibly, and loudly, in the Latin tongue, many being preſent: The words being tranſlated into Greek, the ſenſe of them is this; [36] Οσιῳ πολεως νομῳ, γυναικες γαμεῖαι, δεδωκαῖε με: *Matrons, in due form have you dedicated me.* The women, who were preſent, as it uſually happens in relation to uncommon voices, and ſights, would not eaſily believe that the ſtatue ſpoke, but took it for ſome human

[36] Οσιῳ πολεως νομῳ, etc. Sylburgius has given us the words ſuppoſed to have been ſpoken by this ſtatue in Latin from [7] Valerius Maximus, which are theſe: *Ritè me, matronae, vidiſtis, ritèque dedicaſtis.* Where, *ritè*, explains ὁσιῳ πολεως νομῳ; *matronae*, γυναικες γαμεῖαι; and *dedicaſtis*, δεδωκαῖε. As for *vidiſtis*, which is not in our author, I do not think it worth while to inquire how Valerius came to inſert that word in his relation of this ridiculous tale. Neither do I think it worth while to inquire whether this is the firſt example in hiſtory of a ſpeaking ſtatue; if it is, the hint has been, ſince, improved to very ſubſtantial purpoſes: However, it is a melancholy inſtance of ſuperſtition, or of ſomething worſe, both in heathens, and many chriſtians, to alledge ſuch idle ſtories in proof of a Providence, when every ſingle object in this wonderful frame of nature can ſupply them with a demonſtration of it.

[7] B. i. c. 8.

voice;

voice; thoſe, particularly, who happened, at that time, to be thinking of ſomething elſe, and did not ſee what it was that ſpoke, would not believe ſuch as had ſeen it. Afterwards, when the temple was full, and there happened to be the greateſt ſilence, the ſame ſtatue pronounced the ſame words in a louder voice: So that, there was, no longer, any doubt concerning it. The ſenate, hearing what had paſſed, ordered other ſacrifices, and rites to be performed every year, in ſuch a manner, as the pontifs ſhould direct: And the women, by the advice of their prieſteſs, eſtabliſhed it as a cuſtom that no women, who had been twice married, ſhould crown this ſtatue with garlands, or touch it with their hands; but that the whole honor, and miniſtry relating to this ſtatue, ſhould be committed to new married women. But, concerning theſe things, it became me neither to omit a fact recorded by the Roman hiſtorians, nor to dwell any longer upon it. I, now, return from whence I digreſſed.

LVII. After the departure of the women, Marcius decamped with his army by break of day, and marched through the territories of the Romans, as through a friend's country: And, when he came to That of the Volſci, he divided all the booty among his ſoldiers, without reſerving the leaſt thing for himſelf, and ſent them to their reſpective homes. The troops, who had ſerved under him in his battles, returning loaded with riches, were not diſpleaſed with reſting from the war; and, as they loved the man, they thought he deſerved to be forgiven for having deſiſted from proſecuting the war to the laſt, in compaſſion to the diſtreſs, and

prayers

prayers of his mother. But the young men, who had ſtaid at home, envying the ſoldiers on account of the great booty they had acquired, and being diſappointed in their hopes of ſeeing the pride of the Romans humbled, when their city ſhould be taken, were exaſperated againſt the general, and full of reſentment; and, at laſt, when they found their hatred countenanced by the men of the greateſt power in the nation, they grew wild with rage, and committed an impious action. The perſon, who contributed not a little to inflame them againſt Marcius, was Tullus Attius, who was ſupported by a great faction collected out of every city. This man, who could not command his envy, had, long ſince, reſolved if Marcius ſucceeded, and, after he had deſtroyed Rome, returned to the Volſci, to murder him in a private, and inſidious manner; or, if he miſcarried, and returned without effecting his deſign, to deliver him over to his faction as a traitor, and put him to death; which was the method he, then, took. And, aſſembling a conſiderable number of his people, he accuſed the man; forming conjectures of falſe things by true, and of ſuch as were never to come to paſs, by thoſe which had already happened; then ordered him to reſign his command, and give an account of his conduct: For, as I ſaid before, he was general of the forces, which had been left in the cities; and had power both to aſſemble the people, and to ſummon any man he thought fit to a trial.

LVIII. Marcius did not think proper to oppoſe either of theſe demands; but objected to their order: For he inſiſted that

that he ought, firſt, to give an account of his conduct in the war; after which, he conſented to reſign his command, if all the Volſci ſhould be of that opinion: But he thought that the determination of theſe points ſhould not be committed to any particular city, of which the greateſt part was corrupted by Tullus, but to a legal aſſembly of the whole nation, to which it was the cuſtom for them to ſend deputies from every city, when they were to deliberate upon affairs of the greateſt importance. This Tullus oppoſed; well knowing that a man of his eloquence, when he came to give an account of the many great actions he had performed, if he ſtill retained his dignity of general, would juſtify his conduct to the multitude; and be ſo far from being puniſhed as a traitor, that he would become ſtill more illuſtrious, be more honoured by them, and authorized, by a general conſent, to put an end to the war in ſuch a manner, as he ſhould think proper. This ſtruggle laſted for a conſiderable time, and was carried on every day in the aſſemblies, and the forum, with great eagerneſs by words, and mutual conteſts: For neither of them could employ force againſt the other; becauſe both were defended by the dignity of an equal command. But, there being no end of this contention, Tullus appointed a day for Marcius to reſign his command, and take his trial for the treaſon he ſtood accuſed of; and, having prevailed upon ſome of the moſt daring, with the hopes of rewards, to be the ringleaders in the wicked action he meditated, he came to the aſſembly on the day appointed; and, placing himſelf in the tribunal, uſed many invectives againſt

againſt Marcius, and exhorted the people to depoſe him by force, if he would not, voluntarily, reſign the command.

LIX. Marcius having aſcended the tribunal in order to make his defence, the faction of Tullus hindered him from ſpeaking by their clamor; and, upon their crying out, Kill him, Kill him, the moſt daring ſurrounded him, and ſtoned him [37] to death. While he lay ſtretched upon the ground in the forum, both thoſe, who had been preſent at this tragedy, and thoſe, who came thither after he was dead, bewailed the misfortune of the man, who had found ſo ill a return from them, and recounted all the ſervices he had done to the commonwealth, deſiring to apprehend the murderers for having ſet the example of an action illegal in itſelf, and of pernicious conſequence to their cities, in killing a man, and, particularly, their general, by an act of violence, without ſuffering him to make his defence: But thoſe, who had ſerved under him, ſhewed the greateſt indignation at the uſage he had met with; and ſince, when he was living, they had not been able to prevent his misfortune, they reſolved to ſhew their juſt acknowledgement to him after he was dead, by bringing into the forum every thing, that was neceſſary to the honor of a brave man; and, when all things were

37. Ἀποκτιννυσι. Livy, alſo, ſays that Coriolanus was put to death by the Volſci, in reſentment for his having withdrawn his forces from the territories of the Romans; and that others give a different account of his death: But, Fabius, he ſays, who was by much the moſt ancient of their hiſtorians, aſſerts that he lived to a great age; and that, when he was very old, he uſed, often, to ſay that exile was the moſt ſeverely felt by an old man: [a] *Refert certe (Fabius) hanc ſæpe eum exactâ ætate uſurpaſſe vocem, Multò miſerius ſeni exilium eſſe.*

[a] B. ii. c. 40.

ready,

ready, they clothed him in the habit of a general, and placed him on a bier adorned in a moſt ſumptuous manner; and, cauſing the booty, the ſpoils, and the crowns, together with the repreſentations of the towns he had taken, to be carried before him, the young men, who were the moſt diſtinguiſhed by their military achievements, took up the bier; and, carrying it to the moſt conſiderable part of the ſuburbs, placed it on a funeral pile, before, prepared for its reception, all the citizens accompanying the body with lamentations, and tears: Then, having killed a great number of victims in honor to him, and offered up all the firſt offerings that are, uſually, made at the funeral piles of kings, or generals, thoſe, who had been moſt attached to him, remained there, till the flame was extinguiſhed; after which, they gathered together his remains, and buried them in the ſame place; and, having raiſed a high mound by the aſſiſtance of many hands, they erected a handſome monument.

LX. Such was the cataſtrophe of Marcius, the greateſt general of his age: He was ſuperior to all thoſe pleaſures that tyrannize youth; and practiſed juſtice not with reluctance, and through fear of the puniſhment impoſed by the law, but voluntarily, and from his natural propenſity to it: He did not look upon the not doing an injury to be any part of virtue; and, not only, took care to be exempt from all vice himſelf, but, alſo, thought it his duty to compel others to be ſo too: He was a man of great ſpirit, and liberality, and moſt ready to relieve the wants of his friends, as ſoon as he was informed of them: He was

inferior to none of the ariſtocratical party in his talents for civil affairs; and, if the contrary faction had not oppoſed his meaſures, the Roman commonwealth would have received the greateſt acceſſion of power from them: But it was not poſſible for all the virtues to meet in the ſame compoſition; neither will there ever appear a man produced from a mortal, and frail original, who is perfect in all things.

LXI. Heaven, therefore, that beſtowed theſe virtues on him, blended them with unhappy defects, and imperfections: For there was no mildneſs, no chearfulneſs in his behaviour; nor any thing winning in him, when he ſaluted, and ſpoke to his acquaintance; no diſpoſition to be reconciled, or to mitigate his reſentment, when he was angry with any one; nor that grace, which adorns all human actions; but he was always harſh, and ſevere. Theſe qualities hurt him in many reſpects; but, moſt of all, his immoderate, and inexorable rigor in ſupporting juſtice, and the laws, without the leaſt mixture of clemency: And the [38] opinion of the ancient philoſophers ſeems true, that moral virtues conſiſt

38. Το ὑπο των αρχαιων λεγομενον φιλοσοφων. This is the doctrine of [a] Ariſtotle, which is here, I believe, alluded to, and which he explains in the following manner in his ethics: His poſition is, that virtue conſiſts in the mean, μεσοτης εστιν ἡ αρετη: This [b] he illuſtrates by many examples drawn from the paſſions, and affections; in all which το μεσον, *the mean*, is found to be virtuous, and τα ακρα, *the extremes*, to be vicious: Thus, Bravery is το μεσον, *the mean*; Raſhneſs, ἡ ὑπερβολη, *the exceſs*; and Cowardice, ἡ ἐλλειψις, *the deficiency*. Again, Liberality is the mean; Prodigality, the exceſs; and Avarice, the deficiency. Ariſtotle has applied this doctrine, even, to converſation, where Facetiouſneſs is the mean; Buffoonry, the exceſs; and Ruſticity, the deficiency. This is not the firſt opportunity I have had of ſhewing how great a deference our author pays to the ethics of Ariſtotle.

[a] B. ii. c. 6.

[b] Id. ib. c. 7.

in

in the mean, and not in the extremes, particularly juſtice: For ſhe is unprofitable to her poſſeſſors, not only, when ſhe does not arrive to this mean, but, alſo, when ſhe exceeds it; and, ſometimes, the cauſe of great calamities, and leads to miſerable deaths, and irreparable miſchiefs: Nothing elſe but the purſuit of exact, and extreme juſtice drove Marcius out of his country, and deprived him of all the other enjoyments of life: For, when he ought to have made reaſonable conceſſions to the plebeians, and might, by yielding to their deſires in ſome particulars, have gained the firſt place in their affections, he would not do it; but, by oppoſing them in every thing that was not juſt, he incurred their hatred, and was baniſhed by them: And, when he had it in his power to reſign the command of the Volſcian army the moment he had put an end to the war, and to remove to any other place, till his country had granted him leave to return, and not expoſe himſelf to the ſnares of his enemies, and the folly of the multitude; though he conſidered all this, he did not think fit to uſe any of theſe precautions; but, eſteeming it his duty to preſent himſelf before thoſe, who had intruſted him with that command, in order to give an account of his conduct while he was inveſted with it, and, after he had given that account, if he was found guilty of any crime, to undergo the puniſhment ordained by the laws, he did not receive the reward, which his extreme juſtice deſerved.

LXII. If therefore, when the body is deſtroyed, the ſubſtance of the ſoul, whatever that ſubſtance may be, periſhes

together with it, and ceaſes to exiſt, I know not how I can conceive thoſe to be happy, who have received no advantage from their virtue; but, on the contrary, have been undone by it: Whereas, if our ſouls remain for ever incorruptible, as ſome think, or, if they ſubſiſt ſome time after their ſeparation from the body, Thoſe of good men enjoying the longeſt, and Thoſe of the wicked the ſhorteſt, duration, the applauſe of the living, and the preſervation of their memory to the lateſt ages, ſeem to be an honor ſufficient for the virtuous, though Fortune was their enemy: Which honor happened to this man: For, not only, the Volſci mourned for his death, and ſtill honor him, as a man of the greateſt merit; but the Romans alſo, when they were informed of his tragical end, looked upon it as a great calamity to their commonwealth, and mourned for him both in private, and in public: And their wives, as their cuſtom is at the death of their neareſt relations, laid aſide their gold, and purple, and all the reſt of their ornaments; and dreſſing themſelves in black, mourned for him a whole year: And near five hundred years being, now, elapſed ſince his death, his memory is not obliterated, but he is, ſtill, praiſed and celebrated by all, as a pious, and juſt man. Thus ended the danger, with which the Romans had been threatened by the invaſion of the Volſci, and Aequi, under the command of Marcius; a danger greater than any they had, ever, been expoſed to, which had like to have deſtroyed the whole city from its foundations.

LXIII.

LXIII. A few days after, the Romans took the field with a numerous army commanded by both the conſuls; and, advancing to the confines of their own territories, incamped on two hills, each of the conſuls having his camp apart, very ſtrongly ſituated. However, they returned to Rome without effecting any thing, though fair opportunties were given them by the enemy of performing ſome gallant action: For, before this, the Volſci, and the Aequi had invaded the Roman territories, reſolving not to loſe the opportunity; but to attack them, while they ſeemed to be, ſtill, in a conſternation, ſuppoſing that fear would induce them to ſurrender of their own accord: But, quarrelling among one another about the command, they ran to arms, and ingaged without keeping their ranks, or receiving orders, but with all the confuſion, and diſorder imaginable; ſo that, many were killed on both ſides: And, if the ſetting of the ſun had not prevented further miſchief, both armies had been, utterly, deſtroyed. Yielding therefore, though unwillingly, to the night, which put an end to the conteſt, they were parted, and each army retired to their own camp: And, decamping, early the next day, each returned home. The conſuls, though informed both by the priſoners they had taken, and by the deſerters, who had eſcaped from the action, of the madneſs, and fury the enemy had been poſſeſſed with, neither took advantage of an opportunity ſo much to be wiſhed, when they were not diſtant from them above thirty ſtadia, nor purſued them in their retreat, in which their own troops being freſh, and following in their ranks,

ranks, might eaſily have deſtroyed, to a man, Thoſe of the enemy, that were fatigued, wounded, reduced to a ſmall number, and retiring in diſorder. However, the conſuls decamped alſo, and returned to Rome; either contented with the advantage Fortune had given them, or having no confidence in their troops that were undiſciplined, or highly ſatisfied with not having ſuffered the leaſt loſs. But, when they came to Rome, they were treated with great ignominy, and their behaviour was charged with cowardice. And, without undertaking any other expedition, they ſurrendered their magiſtracy to their ſucceſſors.

LXIV. The next year, [39] Caius Aquilius, and Titus Sicinus, both men of experience in war, entered upon the conſulſhip. The ſenate, after the conſuls had propoſed to them to conſider of the war, ordered that embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the Hernici to demand of them, as of their friends and allies, ſuch ſatisfaction, as they were intitled to by their treaties (for the commonwealth had been injured by them at the time of the invaſion of the Volſci, and Aequi, by the robberies they had committed, and the incurſions they had made upon that part of the Roman territories, which lay contiguous to theirs) and that, in the mean time, and until they ſhould receive their anſwers, the conſuls ſhould raiſe all the forces they could, and demand the aſſiſtance of their allies by embaſſies; and, alſo, that they

[39] Γαιος Ακυλιος, και Τιτος Σικινος. Theſe conſuls are called C. Aquilius Tuſcus, and T. Sicinus Sabinus in the *Faſti conſulares*. In [c] Livy, the latter is named T. Sicinius, poſſibly through a miſtake in the tranſcriber.

[c] B. ii. c. 40.

ſhould

ſhould, by employing a great number of men, prepare corn, arms, money, and all other things, that were neceſſary for the war, with the greateſt expedition. When the embaſſadors returned from the Hernici, they made their report to the ſenate of the anſwers they had received from them; the ſubſtance of which was, that they ſaid there never had been any treaty between them, and the Romans in general; that the convention they had made with Tarquinius was diſſolved both by his expulſion, and by his death in a foreign country; and that, if any depredations had been committed, or incurſions made upon the territories of the Romans by bands of robbers, theſe did not flow from the general conſent of their nation, but from the avarice of particular perſons; that it was not even in their power to deliver up to juſtice the men, who had been guilty of theſe things; that they themſelves, having, alſo, ſuffered damages of the ſame nature, had the ſame complaints to make; and that they, chearfully, accepted the war. The ſenate, having heard the report of their embaſſadors, ordered the youth already raiſed to be divided into three bodies: And that, with one of them, Caius Aquilius ſhould march againſt the Hernici (for theſe were already in arms) That Titus Sicinus, the other conſul, ſhould lead the ſecond againſt the Volſci; and that Spurius Lartius, who had been appointed governor of Rome by the conſuls, ſhould, with the third, defend that part of the country, that lay neareſt to the city: That thoſe, who were above the military age, but ſtill in a condition to bear arms,

arms, ſhould be diſpoſed under their enſigns, and guard the fortreſſes of the city, and the walls, to prevent any ſudden attempt of the enemy, while all the youth were in the field: And that Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, a conſular perſon, ſhould have the command of theſe forces. All theſe orders were ſoon executed.

LXV. Aquilius therefore, one of the conſuls, finding the army of the Hernici waiting for him in the country of the Praeneſtini, incamped as near to them as he could, at the diſtance of little more than two hundred ſtadia from Rome. The third day after he had formed his camp, the Hernici, coming out of theirs, advanced to the plain in order of battle, and gave the ſignal for the combat: Upon which, the conſul marched out to meet them with his army alſo drawn up, and diſpoſed in their reſpective diviſions: And, when they approached one another, they ſhouted, and ran to the ingagement, which was begun by the light armed men on both ſides, who, with darts, arrows, and ſtones from their ſlings, gave one another many wounds: Then the horſe charged the horſe in troops; and the foot ingaged the foot in companies: And, now, the battle raged; both armies fighting bravely; and, for a long time, maintaining the ground where they were poſted. At length, the firſt line of the Romans began to give way, this being the firſt battle they had been ingaged in for a long time. Aquilius, obſerving this, ordered the freſh troops reſerved for this very purpoſe, to take the place of thoſe who were fatigued, and the wounded men, and thoſe who were ſpent with the labor

labor of the day, to retire to the rear. The Hernici, ſeeing their troops in motion, imagined the Romans were beginning to fly; and, animating one another, and cloſing their files, they fell upon thoſe parts of the enemy's army, that were in motion, and the freſh troops of the Romans received their onſet; and, both fighting reſolutely, the battle was, now, renewed with great violence: For the cohorts of the Hernici were alſo, continually, reinforced with freſh troops ſent by their generals, in the room of thoſe, who were fatigued. The evening was now coming on, when the conſul, encouraging the horſe to exert themſelves upon this occaſion, put himſelf at their head, and charged the right wing of the enemy; who, after a ſhort reſiſtance, gave way, and a great ſlaughter inſued: While the right wing of the Hernici ſuffered, and loſt ground, the left, ſtill, maintained the fight, and had the advantage over the right wing of the Romans: But, in a ſhort time, That too gave way: For Aquilius, taking with him the braveſt of the youth, ran to their aſſiſtance alſo; and, exhorting his people, and calling upon every man, who uſed to diſtinguiſh himſelf in former battles, by his name, and ſnatching the ſtandards of thoſe cohorts, that did not ſeem to do their duty, from their bearers, he threw them into the midſt of the enemy; that the dread of the puniſhment ordained by the laws, if they did not recover their ſtandards, might compel them to fight valiantly; and he himſelf always relieved every part, that wanted ſuccour, till he forced this wing, alſo, to give way. Both the flanks being now left naked, even the center did not ſtand their

ground; but the Hernici fled to their camp in confuſion, and diſorder, and the Romans purſued them with great execution. The Roman army fought, that day, with ſo much eagerneſs, that ſome of the men endeavoured even to mount the intrenchments of the enemy's camp, in expectation of taking it by ſtorm; which attempt the conſul obſerving to be hazardous and unavailing, ordered a retreat to be ſounded, and that his men ſhould give over the attack, which they were deſirous to continue, fearing leſt, by being galled with the miſſive weapons, which the enemy were, continually, throwing from above, they ſhould be forced to retire with ſhame, and great loſs, and, by that means, deface the glory of their former victory: So that, the Romans, it being now near ſun ſet, returned to their camp rejoicing, and ſinging ſongs of triumph.

LXVI. The following night, there was a great noiſe, and outcry heard in the camp of the Hernici, and the light of many torches ſeen: For they, deſpairing of being able to ſtand another ingagement, had reſolved to leave their camp of their own motion; and this was the cauſe of the diſorder, and outcry: Since every man fled with all the ſtrength, and ſpeed he was maſter of, calling to, and called upon by, one another, without ſhewing the leaſt regard to the lamentations, and intreaties of thoſe, who were left behind on account of their wounds, or ſickneſs. The Romans, who knew nothing of this, but had, before, been informed by the priſoners that another army of the Hernici was expected to come to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen, and imagining that

that this outcry, and tumult was occaſioned by their arrival, took their arms again; and, lining the intrenchments, leſt any attack ſhould be made upon them in the night, ſometimes all ſtruck their ſhields with their ſwords, and, at others, ſhouted frequently, as if they were going to ingage. All theſe things alarmed the Hernici, alſo, to a great degree, who, thinking themſelves purſued by the enemy, diſperſed, and fled different ways. After it was day, and the horſe, ſent out to diſcover the enemy's motions, had reported that no freſh forces were come to their aſſiſtance, and that Thoſe they had been ingaged with the day before, were fled, Aquilius marched out with his army, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the enemy's camp, which was full of beaſts of burden, proviſions, and arms; and there, alſo, he took their wounded men, not fewer in number than thoſe, who had fled; and, ſending the horſe in purſuit of ſuch, as had diſperſed themſelves in the roads, and woods, he made many of them priſoners: Then he overrun the territories of the Hernici, and laid them waſte with impunity, none now daring to encounter him. Theſe were the exploits of Aquilius.

LXVII. The other conſul, Titus Sicinus, who had been ſent againſt the Volſci with the flower of the army, made an irruption into the country of the Veliterni: For Tullus Attius, the Volſcian general, was poſted there at the head of a very gallant army, which he had raiſed with a view firſt to harraſs the country of their allies, as Marcius had done when he begun the war, thinking that the Romans, continuing ſtill under the ſame conſternation, would not ſend any

ſuccours to thoſe, who were expoſed to danger for their ſake. As ſoon as the two armies were ſeen by, and ſaw, one another, they ingaged without delay: The ground between their camps, on which they were obliged to fight, was a rocky hill, ſurrounded with many broken precipices, where the horſe could be of no uſe to either. The Roman horſe, obſerving this, thought it would be a ſhame for them to be preſent at the action, without aſſiſting in it; and, coming to the conſul in a body, deſired, if he approved of it, that he would permit them to quit their horſes, and fight on foot: The conſul gave them great commendations; and, ordering them to diſmount, drew them up, and kept them about him both to obſerve what part of the army might want relief, and to relieve it. And theſe were the cauſe of the victory the Romans then gained; a victory, that well deſerved the great applauſe it afterwards met with: For the foot, on both ſides, were as equal as poſſible in number, and armed alike, and had no advantage over one another in order, diſcipline, experience in fighting, in attacks, or retreats, in dealing their blows, or in warding them off: For the Volſci had changed every part of their military diſcipline, ſince they had been commanded by Marcius, and adopted the cuſtoms of the Romans: So that, the foot in both armies continued fighting moſt part of the day with equal ſucceſs, the ground, by its inequality, giving to each many advantages. But the Roman horſemen dividing themſelves into two bodies, one of them attacked the enemy's right wing in flank, while the other, going round the hill, charged them in the rear; after which,

which, ſome of them darted their ſpears at the Volſci, and others, with their horſemens ſwords, which are longer than thoſe of the infantry, ſlaſhed the arms, and hams of thoſe they encountered, and cut off the hands of many of them, together with the bucklers, and ſwords they were holding either to defend themſelves, or annoy the enemy; and, by inflicting deep wounds on the knees, and ankles of ſeveral, they left them half dead upon the ground, where they had ſtood, before, with the greateſt firmneſs. And now the Volſci were, on all ſides, ſurrounded with ruin; the foot preſſing them in front, and the horſemen on their flank, and in the rear: So that, after having ſhewn a bravery beyond their ſtrength, and given many proofs of reſolution, and experience, their right wing was almoſt all cut in pieces. When thoſe in the center, and in the other wing, ſaw their right wing broken, and the Roman horſemen coming up to charge them in the ſame manner, they cauſed their [40] files to coun-

40. Εξελιξαντες τους λοχους. The ſenſe of this expreſſion, is viſibly miſtaken by the Latin, and French tranſlators: The former have ſaid *explicatis ordinibus*, which M. *** has tranſlated literally, *ils déploient leurs bataillons*. Le Jay has ſaid, *ils font défiler leurs troupes*, which is not much more to the purpoſe. In order to come at the ſenſe of this expreſſion, we muſt conſult the Greek maſters of tactics, and, among the reſt, Arrian, who explains the different kinds of the εξελιγμος. Without entering into the ſubdiviſions of this evolution, I ſhall content myſelf with mentioning the diviſion of it: The εξελιγμος was either καθ' λοχους, or καθ' ζυγα: [d] The firſt is, when the files of a batalion countermarch; and the ſecond, when the ranks do the ſame. In the firſt evolution, ὁ μεν λοχαγος τον του ουραγου μεταλαμβανει τοπον, ὁ δε ουραγος τον του λοχαγου, και αντι της καθ' προσωπον επιφανειας ἡ καθοπιν: Here, the file leaders take the place of the bringers up, and theſe of the file leaders, and the front becomes the rear: This was the εξελιγμος, which our author ſays the Volſci made uſe of, to ſecure their retreat; and a very proper one, no

[d] Εν τεχν. Taxt. p. 58. Ed. of Amſterd.

termarch,

termarch, and retired ſlowly towards their camp, and the horſemen followed in their ranks: And, when they came to the intrenchments, another ſharp fight inſued, and the horſemen, in endeavouring to climb over the paliſades in different parts of the camp, were repulſed. The conſul, ſeeing the Romans diſtreſſed, ordered the foot to bring faſcines, and fill up the ditches; and, putting himſelf at the head of the braveſt horſemen, he marched over the paſſage they had made, to the gate of the camp, that was moſt fortified; and, having forced the guard, that defended it, and cut aſunder the portcullis, he got within the intrenchments, and let in his foot that followed. Here Tullus Attius charged him with the ſtrongeſt, and braveſt of the Volſci; and, after he had performed many gallant actions (for he was a valiant ſoldier, but not qualified for a general) at laſt, ſpent with labor, and the many wounds he had received, he fell dead. After the camp was taken, ſome of the Volſci died fighting; and others threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conquerors; and a few of them ſaved themſelves by flight, and returned home. When the couriers ſent by the conſuls arrived at Rome, the people were filled with joy, and, immediately, ordered ſacrifices of thankſgiving to be offered to the gods, and decreed the

doubt. I ſhall juſt ſay a word, or two, to explain the other εξελιγμος, though it does not properly relate to the expreſſion, now, before us. By the εξελιγμος καλα ζυγα, the commander τα δεξια εν τοις ευωνυμοις καθιστησι, και τα ευωνυμα εν τοις δεξιοις: Here, the ranks countermarch; that is, one wing of the batalion exchanges its ground with the other; the right wing becomes the left; and the left wing, the right.

honors

honors of a triumph to the conſuls; but not the ſame to both: For, as Sicinus ſeemed to have freed the commonwealth from the greater fear, by deſtroying the inſulting army of the Volſci, and killing their general, ſo they granted to him the greater triumph: And he entered the city in a chariot, drawn by horſes with golden bridles, he himſelf being dreſſed in royal robes, as is uſual in the greater triumphs: He was [41] preceded by the ſpoils, and the priſoners; and followed by his victorious army. To Aquilius they decreed the leſſer triumph, called, by them, *Ovatio*. I have, before, [42] ſhewn the difference between this, and the greater triumph. And this perſon entered the city on foot, with the other ornaments of the proceſſion. Thus the year ended.

LXVIII. Theſe conſuls were ſucceeded by [43] Proculus Virginius, and Spurius Caſſius, then conſul for the third time, who took the field with their national forces, and thoſe of their allies. It fell to the lot of Virginius to lead his army

41. Αγων τα λαφυρα και τους αιχμαλωτους. This word αγων, as it is in the Vatican manuſcript, or τχων, as it ſtands in the editions, is applied to the ſpoils, the priſoners, and the army; and yet it is certain that the triumphal car was preceded by the ſpoils firſt, and then by the priſoners, and followed by the army. The ignorance of, or inattention to, this particular, has miſled the French tranſlators, and particularly Le Jay: The other has ſaid, *il entra dans Rome accompagné de ceux qui portoient les dépouilles*; this rather evades, than explains the difficulty; which Le Jay is ſo far from evading, that he leaves the reader no room to doubt of his error: *Il entra dans Rome au milieu des dépouilles des ennemies*, and *traiſnant après ſoy un grand nombre de captifs*.

42. Δεδηλωται μοι. See the fifth book, chapter 47.

43. Πρόκυλος. This conſul is called Proculus Virginius both by [c] Livy, and the *faſti conſulares*; for which reaſon, I have inſerted Proculus in the text, inſtead of Ποπλιος, which is the reading of all the editions.

[c] B. ii. c. 41.

againſt

againſt the Aequi; and to That of Caſſius to march againſt the Hernici, and the Volſci. The Aequi, having fortified their cities, and removed thither out of the country every thing that was moſt valuable, ſuffered their lands to be laid waſte, and their country houſes to be ſet on fire: So that, Virginius, with great eaſe, harraſſed, and ſpoiled as much of their country as he thought fit, ſince no one offered to defend it; and, then, returned to Rome with his army. The Volſci, and the Hernici, againſt whom Caſſius marched, had reſolved to ſuffer their lands to be laid waſte, and all taken refuge in their cities. However, they did not adhere to their reſolution: But, induced by their regret to ſee the deſolation of a fertil country, which they could not expect eaſily to reſtore to its former condition; and, at the ſame time, diſtruſting the fortifications they had fled to, which were not very ſtrong, they ſent embaſſadors to the conſul to ſue for peace: The Volſci ſent firſt; and firſt obtained their deſires, by furniſhing as much money as the conſul ordered, and every thing elſe the army wanted: And theſe conſented to become ſubject to the Romans, without aiming, any longer, at an equality. After them, the Hernici, finding themſelves left deſtitute, treated with the conſul concerning peace, and friendſhip: But Caſſius accuſed them, violently, to their embaſſadors, and ſaid they ought, firſt, to act like men conquered, and ſubjects, and, then, treat of friendſhip. The embaſſadors anſwering that they would do every thing, that was poſſible and reaſonable, he

he ordered them to ſupply his army [44] with money, and with proviſions for a month: And to the intent they might raiſe theſe ſupplies with the greater eaſe on the day appointed, he granted them a truce. The Hernici performing every thing with expedition and alacrity, and ſending, again, embaſſadors to treat of the peace, Caſſius commended them, and referred them to the ſenate; who, after many deliberations, came to a reſolution to receive this people into their friendſhip: That Caſſius ſhould conſider, and ſettle, the terms of the treaty: And that, whatever he approved of, they would ratify.

LXIX. The ſenate having come to theſe reſolutions, Caſſius returned to Rome, and demanded a [45] ſecond triumph, as if he had ſubdued the greateſt nations, ſeizing

44. Αργυρίου τε, ὁ κατ' ἀνδρα τοις στρατιώταις εις οψωνιασμον ΕΘΟΣ ΗΝ μηνων δεδοσθαι. The commentators obſerve, that the numeral word before μηνων is omitted in the Greek text: But I have an objection againſt the whole ſentence. If οψωνιασμος is ſuppoſed to ſignify the uſual pay of the Roman ſoldiers, which ſignification the word will bear, a plain abſurdity will follow; ſince it is very well known that the Roman ſoldiers received no pay, till the year of Rome 348, when the ſenate ordered [f] *ut ſtipendium miles de publico acciperet; quum ante id tempus de ſuo quiſque functus eo munere eſſet.* And, if οψωνιασμος is taken in the more common ſignification, for *proviſions*, the ſame thing will be repeated in τροφας αποφερειν: So that, I would ſtrike out the intervening ſentence, as an interpolation, and read αργυριου τε, και δια μηνος τροφας αποφερειν. Something like this we had juſt before, in relation to the orders given by the other conſul to the Volſci, where no mention is made of the ſum, any more than here.

45. Δευτερον. So we muſt read this with the Vatican manuſcript, and not μεγιστον, as it ſtands in the editions: Becauſe Caſſius had, already, triumphed for the victory he obtained over the Sabines [g], where he killed 10,300 of them, and took near 4000 priſoners.

[f] Livy, B. iv. c. 59. [g] See the fifth book, chap. 49.

that honor by favor, rather than receiving it as a right; ſince he was to be preceded by captives, and ſpoils, with which a triumph is adorned, without having ſtormed any towns, or gained a battle in the field. This action firſt drew upon him the reputation of a proud man, and the envy of entertaining more exalted thoughts, than the reſt of his fellow-citizens. After he had prevailed in obtaining the triumph, he produced the treaty he had made with the Hernici; which was copied from That, before, made with the Latines. This, greatly, diſguſted the moſt ancient, and the moſt dignified ſenators, who began to ſuſpect him; becauſe they thought it, highly, unreaſonable that the Hernici, who were ſtrangers, ſhould obtain the ſame honor with the Latines, who were their relations; and that ſuch, as had not done them the leaſt ſervice, ſhould be treated with the ſame humanity, as thoſe, who had given them many inſtances of their affection. They were, alſo, diſpleaſed at the haughtineſs of the man, who, after he had been honoured by the ſenate, had not done the ſame honor to them, but produced a treaty ſettled according to his own humour, and not by the authority of the ſenate. And, indeed, ſucceſs in various undertakings is a dangerous, and a prejudicial thing to a man: For it is, often, the ſource of thoughtleſs pride, and the ſecret author of deſires exceeding the condition of human nature: Which was the caſe of Caſſius: For being the only perſon at that time, who had been honoured by his country with three conſulſhips, and two triumphs, he now took upon himſelf greater

greater ſtate, and entertained a deſire of monarchical power: And, conſidering that the eaſieſt, and ſafeſt way, of all others, for thoſe, who aim at monarchy, or tyranny, is to gain the multitude by ſome gratifications, and to accuſtom them to be fed by the hand of the perſon, who diſtributes the poſſeſſions of the public, this he purſued: And, without communicating his deſign to any one, he determined to divide among the people certain lands of large extent, belonging to the public, which lay neglected, and were, then, in the poſſeſſion of the richeſt men. If Caſſius had been content to ſtop here, it is poſſible that his deſign might have ſucceeded; but, by aiming at more, he raiſed a violent ſedition; the event of which proved fatal to himſelf: For he thought proper to comprehend in the diviſion of theſe lands not only the Latines, but even the Hernici, who had been, juſt before, admitted citizens, in order to ingage theſe nations in his intereſt.

LXX. Having formed this plan, the day after his triumph, he called the people together; and, aſcending the tribunal, according to the cuſtom of thoſe who have triumphed, he, firſt, gave an account to them of his actions; the ſum of which was as follows: That, in his firſt conſulſhip, he had ſubdued the Sabines, who claimed the ſovereignty, and compelled them to become ſubject to the Romans: That, in the ſecond, he had appeaſed the ſedition, with which the commonwealth was then agitated, and brought back the people to their country; and had ingaged the Latines, who, though of the ſame extraction

with the Romans, yet always envied their ſovereignty and glory, to become their friends, by communicating to them the ſame rights with the Roman citizens; ſo that, they looked upon Rome no longer as a rival, but as their country: That, being the third time inveſted with the ſame magiſtracy, he had, not only, compelled the Volſci, from enemies to be their friends, but had, alſo, induced the Hernici, a numerous, and warlike nation, and, by being ſituated near them, capable of doing them the greateſt miſchief, and the greateſt ſervice, to a voluntary ſubmiſſion. After he had diſplayed theſe things, and many others of the like nature, he deſired the people to look upon him as a perſon, who then had, and always ſhould have, a greater zeal for the intereſt of the commonwealth, than any others could pretend to. He concluded with ſaying that his deſign was to confer upon the people ſo many benefits, and of ſuch a nature, as to ſurpaſs all thoſe, who were commended for their affection to the plebeians, and concern for their preſervation. And theſe things, he ſaid, he would ſoon accompliſh. He then diſmiſſed the aſſembly; and, without the leaſt delay, cauſed the ſenate to meet the day after, who were already in ſuſpenſe, and terrified with his diſcourſe: And, before he entred upon any thing elſe, he laid open his intention, which he had concealed from the multitude, deſiring the ſenate, that, as the people both by ſupporting their liberty, and by enabling them to command others, had done great ſervice to the commonwealth, they would ſhew a regard for their intereſt, in dividing among them

them the conquered lands, which were, indeed, called public lands, but, in reality, were uſurped by the moſt ſhameleſs among the patricians, contrary to all juſtice; and that the money paid for the corn, ſent them by Gelo king of Sicily as a preſent, which, though it ought to have been divided among all the citizens in a gratuitous manner, the poor had purchaſed, might be repaid to the buyers, out of the treaſury.

LXXI. While he was ſpeaking, preſently a great tumult aroſe, all the ſenators ſhewing their diſlike, and impatience of what he propoſed. And, when he had done, not only his collegue, Virginius, but the moſt ancient, and the moſt dignified ſenators, particularly Appius Claudius, exclaimed againſt him with great vehemence, for deſigning to raiſe a ſedition. And theſe two continued, for a long time, inflamed, and uttering the ſevereſt reproaches againſt one another. The following days, Caſſius, aſſembling the people frequently, gained their affections by his popular harangues, diſplayed the advantages, that would flow from the diviſion of theſe lands, and laid himſelf out in invectives againſt his oppoſers. On the other ſide, Virginius aſſembled the ſenate every day, and concerted meaſures with the patricians to guard againſt his deſign, and to prevent its ſucceſs, by a legal oppoſition. And each of the conſuls was attended by a ſtrong body of men, to ſecure them from being inſulted. The poor, the mean, and ſuch as were prepared for any daring enterpriſe, were under the command of Caſſius: And thoſe of the greateſt birth, and character adhered to Virginius. For ſome time,

time, the worſt ſide carried it in the aſſemblies of the people, by a great majority. After that, they became equal, the tribunes joining the beſt ſide; poſſibly, becauſe they did not think it advantageous for the commonwealth that the people ſhould be corrupted by bribes, and a diſtribution of the public lands, and thence grow idle, and profligate: Poſſibly alſo, through envy, becauſe they themſelves, who were the leaders of the people, had not been the authors of this liberality, but another perſon. However, there is no reaſon to conclude that they were influenced by any other motive, than the apprehenſion of this encreaſe of power in Caſſius, which was greater than the intereſt of the commonwealth would admit. Theſe now oppoſed, therefore, in every aſſembly of the people, the laws, which Caſſius was introducing, with all their power: They repreſented to them that it was not juſt that thoſe lands, which they had acquired by many wars, ſhould be diſtributed among any but the Romans, and that, not only, the Latines, who had not been preſent in thoſe wars, but the Hernici alſo, who had, but lately, entered into their friendſhip, and who, being brought into it by war, ought to be ſatisfied if they were not deprived of their own territories, ſhould have an equal ſhare of thoſe conquered lands with the Romans themſelves. The people, hearing this, ſometimes aſſented to the repreſentations of the tribunes, when they conſidered that the portion of the public lands, that would fall to the ſhare of each, would be ſmall and inconſiderable, if both the Hernici, and the Latines were to partake with them in this diſtri-

diſtribution: And, at others, Caſſius, by his popular harangues, made them change their opinion, by telling them that the tribunes betrayed them to the patricians, and covered their oppoſition with this ſpecious pretence, that an equal ſhare of theſe lands was to be given to the Hernici, and the Latines, whom he himſelf had comprehended in his law, with a view of adding ſtrength to the poor, and of defeating any attempt, that might, hereafter, be made to diſpoſſeſs them of the lands that were granted to them; ſince he looked upon it to be better and ſafer for the people to continue in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of a ſmall ſhare, than, by expecting a greater, to be diſappointed of every thing.

LXXII. While Caſſius, by theſe inſinuations, wrought frequent changes in the minds of the multitude, Caius Rabuleius, one of the tribunes, a man of no mean abilities, preſented himſelf before the people, and promiſed that he would, ſoon, put an end to this conteſt between the conſuls, and ſhew the people their true intereſt. This being followed with great acclamations, and, after that, with ſilence, he ſaid; "Are not theſe, Caſſius, and Virginius, the chief points in "diſpute concerning this law; the firſt, whether it is pro-"per to diſtribute the public lands to every Roman; and "the other, whether the Latines, and the Hernici, ought to "have a ſhare of them? And they acknowledging it to be ſo, he went on: "This being allowed, you, Caſſius, would "have the people vote for both theſe; and you, Virginius, "let us know, in the name of the gods, whether you oppoſe "that part of the law propoſed by Caſſius, which relates to

"the

" the allies, as thinking that the Hernici, and the Latines
" ought not to have an equal ſhare with us; or do you
" oppoſe the other alſo, and inſiſt that the public lands
" ſhould not be divided even among us? Anſwer to theſe
" queſtions without concealing any thing." And Virginius ſaying that he was againſt giving an equal ſhare of theſe lands to the Hernici, and the Latines, but conſented to their being diſtributed among the Roman citizens, if all the people were of that opinion; the tribune, turning to the aſſembly, ſaid; " Since, therefore, one part of the queſtion is
" approved of by both the conſuls, and the other oppoſed by
" one of them; and, as both are equal in dignity, and neither
" can force the other to come into his opinion, let us, now,
" receive That, which both agree to give us, and put off the
" other, concerning which they differ." The people ſignifying, by their acclamations, that his advice was the beſt that could be given, and deſiring him to ſtrike out of the law that part, which occaſioned the conteſt, Caſſius was at a loſs what to do; and, being unwilling to retract his opinion, and unable to maintain it, while the tribunes oppoſed him, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly for that time. The following days, he pretended illneſs, and went no more to the forum; but, continuing at home, formed a deſign to get the law paſſed by force, and violence; and ſent for as many of the Latines, and Hernici, as he could, to come, and vote for it. Theſe aſſembled in great numbers; and, preſently, the town was full of ſtrangers. Virginius being informed of theſe things, ordered proclamation to be made in the ſtreets, that all, who were not inhabitants,

bitants, ſhould forthwith depart the city. On the other ſide, Caſſius ordered the contrary to be proclaimed, that all, who were intitled to the rights of citizens, ſhould ſtay, till the law was paſſed.

LXXIII. There being no end of theſe conteſts, the patricians, fearing leſt, when the law came to be propoſed, the people ſhould take arms, and have recourſe to violence, and to ſuch other forcible means, as are frequently uſed in divided aſſemblies, met in the ſenate to conſider of ſuch methods, as ſhould, at once, put a ſtop to all theſe evils. Appius therefore, being, firſt, aſked his opinion, oppoſed this diſtribution of the lands among the people, telling them that an idle multitude, accuſtomed to devour the public ſtock, would prove troubleſome, and uſeleſs cohabitants, and never ſuffer any thing belonging to the public, whether lands, or money, to continue in the poſſeſſion of the public: And that it would be a ſhameful thing, if the ſenate, who accuſed Caſſius of introducing a wicked, and diſadvantageous law, and of corrupting the people, ſhould themſelves, by common conſent, eſtabliſh that law, as juſt and advantageous: He deſired them, alſo, to conſider that the poor, if theſe lands were divided among them, would not, even, think themſelves obliged to thoſe, who gave their conſent, and ſanction to this law, but to Caſſius, who, firſt, propoſed it, and ſeemed to have compelled the ſenate to ratify it againſt their will. Having ſaid this, and many other things to the ſame purpoſe, he ended with adviſing them to make choice of ſome of the moſt dignified ſenators to fix the bounds of

the public land upon the ſpot; and, if they found that any private perſons, by fraud, or force, either fed, or tilled, any part of it, to take cognizance of this abuſe, and reſtore the land to the public: And, further, that the land, ſo bounded by them, ſhould be divided into a certain number of ſhares, and diſtinguiſhed by handſome pillars; and that one part of this land ſhould be ſold, particularly that part, concerning which there was any conteſt with private perſons; ſo that, the purchaſers might plead the determination of theſe commiſſioners againſt any, who ſhould claim theſe lands; and the other part be let for five years: And that the money, ariſing from theſe rents, be applied to pay the forces, and to the neceſſary expences of wars: "For, ſays he, as things now ſtand, the envy of the "poor againſt the rich, who have uſurped, and ſtill con- "tinue in the poſſeſſion of, the public lands, is well "grounded; and it is not to be wondered at if they deſire "thoſe lands ſhould be divided among all the citizens, "rather than uſurped by a few, and thoſe the moſt ſhameleſs "of all men: Whereas, if they ſee the perſons, who now "enjoy them, quit poſſeſſion, and the public lands, really "become public lands, they will ceaſe to envy us, and re- "linquiſh their fondneſs for this general diſtribution of them, "when they know that theſe lands in the hands of the "public will be of greater advantage to them, than the "ſmall portion, that will be allotted to each. Let us "ſhew them, therefore, how much their intereſt is here "concerned; and that, if each of the poor receives for "his

" his ſhare a ſmall piece of land, and happens to have " troubleſome neighbours, he neither will be able to culti- " vate it himſelf by reaſon of his poverty, neither will he " find any man to hire it of him, but a neighbour: Whereas, " if large farms, requiring various, and conſiderable culture, " are let by the public, they will bring in great revenues " to the commonwealth: And that it is better for them, " when they go to the field, to receive both proviſions, and " their pay from the treaſury, than, out of their private " fortunes, to pay in their contributions to the [46] treaſury, " when preſſed, as it often happens, with want, which will " ſtill be encreaſed by providing this money."

LXXIV. After Appius had delivered this opinion, and gained great applauſe by it, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus was called upon next, and ſaid; " In the firſt place, I muſt " commend Appius, as a man very capable of ſeeing future " events at a great diſtance; one, who always gives the " moſt honourable, and the moſt uſeful advice; firm, and " unmoved in his reſolutions; and neither yielding to fear, " nor ſwayed by favor: For I ever praiſe, and admire him, " both for his prudence, and the courage he ſhews in the " midſt of dangers: Neither ſhall I myſelf offer any other " advice; but only add a few things, which Appius ſeems " to have omitted: Nor am I of opinion that the Hernici, or " the Latines, to whom we, lately, granted the rights of

46. Εις ταμιειον. Sylburgius has obſerved that αισφερειν is, here, wanting, whic his very true: But I ſuſpect that ſomething elſe is wanting to complete this ſentence, which, as it now ſtands, does not run with the ſmoothneſs, and perſpecuity, peculiar to our author.

" Roman citizens, ought to have a ſhare of our lands:
" For we have not acquired theſe, ſince they acceded to
" our friendſhip; but long before, when, by our own
" dangers, without the aſſiſtance of any others, we gained
" them from our enemies. And let us give them this
" anſwer, that the lands, which each of us were before,
" reſpectively, poſſeſſed of, when we entered into the treaty
" of friendſhip, ought to remain in property, and unalienable
" to each: And that of Thoſe we ſhall conquer with joint
" forces, ſince we made the treaty, each ſhall have his ſhare.
" This method will give neither to our allies any juſt cauſe
" of complaining that they are injured, nor to the people any
" apprehenſion of appearing to prefer their intereſt to their
" reputation. As to the appointment of perſons to fix the
" bounds of the public lands, I, intirely, agree with Appius:
" For this will ſet us at liberty with regard to the plebeians;
" ſince they are, now, diſpleaſed on both theſe accounts,
" becauſe they themſelves reap no benefit from the public
" lands, and becauſe ſome of us enjoy them, contrary to
" juſtice: Whereas, if they ſee theſe lands reſtored to the
" public, and the produce thereof applied to the neceſſary
" uſes of the commonwealth, they will look upon it to make
" no difference to them, whether they enjoy the land, or
" the produce of it: For I need not inform you that ſome
" of the poor are more delighted with the loſſes of others,
" than with their own advantages. However, I do not
" think it ſufficient to inſert theſe two things in the decree;
" but we ought, in my opinion, to gain their affections, and
" relieve

" relieve them by ſome other favor alſo, which I ſhall, pre-
" ſently, acquaint you with, after I have, firſt, laid before
" you the reaſon, or rather the neceſſity, that ſhould induce
" us to come into this meaſure.

LXXV. " You remember, without doubt, what the
" tribune ſaid in the laſt aſſembly of the people, when he
" aſked Virginius, one of the conſuls, what were his thoughts
" concerning the diviſion of the lands, whether he conſented
" to their being divided among the Roman citizens, but
" not among the allies; or do you oppoſe, ſays he, the
" diſtribution of our own public lands, even, among ourſelves?
" And the other anſwered, that he did not oppoſe this
" diſtribution, ſo far as it related to the Romans, if all were
" of that opinion. This conceſſion, not only, brought over
" the tribunes to our intereſt, but, changed the diſpoſition
" of the people in our favor. What therefore ſhould induce
" us to revoke, now, what we, then, conſented to? Or
" what advantage will it be to us to eſtabliſh generous, and
" noble inſtitutions, and ſuch as are worthy of our empire,
" if we cannot prevail with the people to obſerve them?
" But we ſhall not prevail with them; and this none of you
" are ignorant of: And we ſhall find thoſe, who are diſap-
" pointed in their hopes, and deceived by the nonperformance
" of our promiſes, more uneaſy to us, than thoſe, who do not
" obtain what they deſire. Some other magiſtrate will ſtart
" up, and, to flatter the people, will, again, bring in theſe laws,
" and, then, not one of the tribunes will aſſiſt us. Hear, there-
" fore, what advice I give you, and what addition I make

" to

" to the opinion of Appius; but do not riſe up, or create
" any diſturbance, before you have heard all I have to ſay.
" After you have appointed commiſſioners, whether ten, or
" whatever number, to inſpect the land, and fix the bounds
" of it, impower them to determine which, and how great
" a part of it, ought to belong to the public, and, by being
" let for five years, to encreaſe the revenues of the treaſury;
" and, on the other ſide, how great a part of it, and which,
" ought to be divided among the plebeians. And my advice
" is, that, whatever land they ſhall appoint to be divided,
" you order it to be divided accordingly, after you have
" determined whether it ſhall be diſtributed among all the
" citizens, or among thoſe, who have no land, or who have
" the ſmalleſt fortunes, or in what manner ſoever you ſhall
" think proper: And, as to the appointment of the perſons
" to fix the bounds of the land; and the order you ſhall
" publiſh concerning the diviſion of it, and every thing elſe
" that is neceſſary, ſince the preſent conſuls have but a ſhort
" time to continue in the magiſtracy, that their ſucceſſors
" take ſuch order therein, as to them ſhall ſeem beſt: For
" things of this nature require no ſhort time to ſettle;
" neither can it be expected that the preſent conſuls, who
" are now divided, will be able to diſcover what is advan-
" tageous with greater penetration, than their ſucceſſors, if,
" as we hope, they ſhall agree: For delay is, upon many
" occaſions, a uſeful thing, and, of all others, the leaſt dan-
" gerous; and time, often, brings about great changes in
" a ſingle day: Beſides, a good underſtanding between
" thoſe,

" thoſe, who preſide in the ſtate, produces the greateſt ad-
" vantages. Thus have I delivered my opinion: If any one
" has any thing better to propoſe, let him ſpeak."

LXXVI. When he had ended, all preſent applauded him; and not one of the ſenators, who were aſked their opinion after him, gave any other advice. Upon which, the decree of the ſenate was drawn up to this effect: That ten of the moſt ancient conſular ſenators be appointed to determine the boundaries of the public land; and to declare how much of it ought to be let, and how much to be divided among the people: That thoſe, to whom the rights of citizens were granted, and their allies, have each their ſhare, according to the treaties, of all ſuch lands, as they ſhall, afterwards, conquer with joint forces: And that the ſucceeding conſuls take care that the election of the decemvirs, the diviſion of the lands, and every thing elſe, that is neceſſary, be performed. When this decree was laid before the people, it, not only, put a ſtop to the popular harangues of Caſſius, but, alſo, prevented the growing ſedition of the poor from making any further progreſs.

LXXVII. The following year, when the ſeventy fourth Olympiad was drawing near, at which Aſtyllus of Syracuſe won the prize of the ſtadium, Leoſtratus being archon at Athens, and Quintus Fabius, and Servius Cornelius conſuls at Rome, two patricians, young indeed with reſpect to their age, but the moſt diſtinguiſhed of their body on account of the dignity of their anceſtors, men of great power founded both on the number of their friends, and the greatneſs of their fortunes,

fortunes, and, for young men, inferior to none of mature age for their abilities in civil affairs, Caeſo Fabius, brother of the then conſul, and Lucius Valerius Poplicola,[47] nephew to the perſon, who expelled the kings, being quaeſtors at the ſame time, and having, by virtue of that charge, a power of aſſembling the people, accuſed before them Spurius Caſſius, the conſul of the former year, who had dared to bring in the Agrarian laws, for aiming at tyranny: And, appointing a day, cited him to make his defence before the people. There being a great concourſe upon the day appointed, the quaeſtors aſſembled them; and, entering into a detail of all his actions in public life, ſhewed them to flow from no good deſign: Firſt, that, when he was conſul, he had, not only, granted to the Latines, the privilege of Roman citizens, which they deſired, and would have been contented with, and have thought it a great happineſs even to obtain, but, alſo, ordered that they ſhould have the third part of the ſpoils taken in war, when carried on with joint forces: Then, with regard to the Hernici, who, being ſubdued by war, ought to have been ſatisfied in not being puniſhed with the loſs of ſome part even of their own country, he had made them friends inſtead of ſubjects, and citizens inſtead of tributaries; and ordered they ſhould receive another third part of the land, and the booty, that ſhould, ever after, be acquired: So that, the ſpoils being divided into three ſhares, the ſubjects of the Romans, and ſtrangers were to receive two of them,

47. Αδελφιδους του καταλυσαντος τους βασιλεις. See the firſt annotation on the ſeventh book.

and

and, the natives, and their maſters only one. They made it appear that, from hence, one of theſe moſt abſurd things would befall them, if ever they ſhould think fit to honour any other nations, by reaſon of their many great ſervices, with the ſame grants, with which they had honoured, not only, the Latines, but the Hernici alſo, who had never done them the leaſt ſervice: For there being but one third left for them, they would either have no part to beſtow upon their benefactors, or, if they granted them the ſame favour, they would reſerve nothing for themſelves.

LXXVIII. They added that Caſſius, in propoſing to divide the public lands, without the previous vote of the ſenate, or the conſent of his collegue, ſhewed that his deſign was to get the law paſſed by force, which law was, not on this account, alone, unprofitable, and unjuſt, That, when the previous vote of the ſenate was neceſſary, and, that being obtained, it ought to have been a common favor of all the magiſtrates, he had made it the favor of one man; but alſo on this account, which is a conſideration, of all others, the moſt afflicting, that this, which was called a grant of the public lands to all the citizens, was, in reality, a deprivation; ſince the Romans, who had acquired theſe lands, were to receive but one third of them, and the Hernici, and the Latines, who had nothing to do with them, the other two. They charged him, further, that he had paid no deference, even, to the tribunes, when they oppoſed him, and deſired him to ſtrike out that part of the law, which gave an equal ſhare of theſe lands to ſtrangers; but con-

tinued to act contrary to the ſenſe of the tribunes, of his collegue, of the ſenate, and of all, whoſe counſels were ever of the greateſt advantage to the commonwealth. After they had gone through theſe heads of their charge, and called upon all the citizens to atteſt the truth of them, they, then, proceeded to the ſecret proofs of his having aimed at tyranny; that the Latines, and the Hernici had jointly ſupplied him with money, and provided themſelves with arms; and that the moſt daring young men of theſe nations, perpetually, reſorted to him, holding private councils, and acting for his ſervice in many other inſtances: And, to prove the truth of theſe allegations, they produced many witneſſes, both Roman citizens, and others belonging to the nations in alliance with them, perſons neither mean, nor obſcure. To theſe the people gave credit; and, without either ſuffering themſelves to be moved with the ſpeech of Caſſius, which he made after great premeditation, or with compaſſion, though the appearance of his three ſons, as well as the joint lamentations of his other relations, and friends, gave him a great opportunity of exciting their mercy, or paying any regard to his military actions, by which he had raiſed himſelf to the greateſt honor, they condemned him: And they were ſo exaſperated at the name of tyranny, that they could not moderate their reſentment even in the degree of his puniſhment, but ſentenced him to death: For they were afraid leſt, if they had baniſhed him, as he was the ableſt general of his time, he might have followed the example of Marcius; and, by calumniating his country, and forming

forming a conjunction among their enemies, have brought an irreconcileable war upon them. This being the event of his trial, the quaeſtors led the man to the top of the precipice that commands the forum; and, in the preſence of all the citizens, [48] threw him down from the rock: For this was

48. Ἐῤῥιψαν κάλα της πέτρας. We are now come to the death of Caſſius, the author of the Agrarian law, in which he failed through his own want of conduct, and the ſuperior ſkill of the patricians, and was involved in its ruin: However, this law had, afterwards, better ſucceſs, when it fell into abler hands; and, though the patricians had not the power to hinder the enacting of this law, they had the art to obſtruct the execution of it. The pernicious deſign of Caſſius in aiming at tyranny has caſt an infamy on the law itſelf, and made it to be looked upon as a wicked meaſure, becauſe it was the inſtrument to a wicked intention: By this means, it has happened that the Agrarian law, though juſt in itſelf, and reaſonable in its circumſtances, has ſuffered through the guilt of its author, and been loaded with an infamy not its own. In order, therefore, to be convinced of the juſtice, and reaſonableneſs of this law, we muſt conſider it unrelatively to the deſigns of its author, and inquire whether it was agreeable, or repugnant to the conſtitution of the Romans; whether it was an innovation in, or a part of, that conſtitution; whether the people had not a right to the effect of this law, before the law itſelf was propoſed; and whether there could be any reaſon for oppoſing it, but the long preſcription to the conquered lands, begun, and maintained by the patricians, contrary to juſtice, and to the very elements of their conſtitution. We ſhall be aſſiſted in this inquiry by reflecting on what [h] our author has, already, ſaid concerning the original diſtribution of lands made by Romulus in the infancy of their government: There we find that Romulus, after he had divided the whole body of the people into thirty curiae, divided, alſo, the land into thirty equal parts, one of which he allotted to every curia, reſerving as much as was ſufficient for religious uſes, and ſome part of it for the public. This diviſion, our author ſays, both of men and land, comprehended the greateſt equality: This equality was ſettled by their conſtitution; and, will any one ſay that the uſurpation of the lands, which the Romans, afterwards, conquered, by the patricians without dividing any part of them among the conquerors, reſerving any for religious uſes, or appropriating any part to the public, was not contrary to that equality, and to the parent of that equality, their conſtitution? And that it was ſo, is, we ſee, owned even by Appius, as well as by Sempronius. The purport of the law, propoſed by Caſſius, was to reſtore both by wreſting theſe con-

[h] B. ii. c. 7.

the eſtabliſhed puniſhment, at that time among the Romans, for thoſe, who were condemned to die.

LXXIX. This is the moſt probable account of any, that have been delivered down to poſterity, concerning this man: However, I think myſelf obliged not to omit a leſs probable one, ſince this, alſo, is believed by many, and recorded in hiſtories of good authority. It is ſaid, therefore, by ſome that, while the meaſures he was purſuing to make himſelf tyrant, were as yet concealed from all the world, the father of Caſſius was the firſt, who ſuſpected him; and, after making the ſtricteſt inquiry into the matter, he went to the ſenate; then, ordering his ſon to appear, he became both the informer, and the accuſer; and the ſenate having, alſo, con-

quered lands from the patricians, and dividing them among the people, with whoſe blood they had been purchaſed. This is the true ſtate of the queſtion: For, neither the Caſſian law, which was rejected; the Licinian law, which paſſed 119 years after that time; nor the Sempronian law, for propoſing which the author of it was murdered by the patricians 353 years after the firſt attempt made by Caſſius, had any relation to private poſſeſſions, but only to Thoſe which belonged to the public. The only difference between the firſt law, and the two laſt, was this; by the firſt, it was propoſed to divide all the public lands among the people; and by the two laſt, five hundred acres of thoſe lands, and no more were allowed to the uſurpers of them; [i] *ne quis ex* publico agro *plus quam quingenta jugera poſſideret.* That theſe laws related ſolely to the poſſeſſions of the public will appear manifeſtly, from the whole tenor of Cicero's ſpeech againſt Rullus, particularly from theſe words, [k] *licebit enim, quod videbitur*, publicum *judicare; quod judicarint, vendere.* This will further appear from the Agrarian law paſſed by the intereſt, and violence of [l] Julius Caeſar, when he, and Bibulus were conſuls, in the year of Rome 695: By which, two large tracts of land lying in Campania, and both belonging to the public, were divided among 20,000 Roman citizens: *Campum Stellatem* majoribus conſecratum, *agrumque Campanum* ad ſubſidia reipublicae vectigalem relictum *diviſit extra ſortem, ad* XX *millibus civium, quibus terni plureſve liberi eſſent.*

[i] Liv. Epitom. B. lviii. [k] C. 3. [l] Suet life of Jul. Caeſ. c. 20.

demned

demned him, he carried him to his own houſe, and put him to death. The ſevere, and inexorable reſentment of fathers againſt their offending ſons, particularly in the Romans at that time, will not ſuffer us to reject, even, this account; ſince, before this tranſaction, Brutus, who expelled the kings, condemned both his ſons to die the death of malefactors, and they loſt their heads, becauſe they appeared to have been accomplices in the conſpiracy for reſtoring the kings: And, after that, Manlius, while he commanded in the [49] Gallic war, honoured, indeed, his ſon with the crowns, that were due to his ſuperior valor; yet accuſed him of diſobedience for not ſtaying in the fort, in which he was poſted, but for leaving it, contrary to the command of his general, in order to ingage the enemy; and inflicted on him the puniſhment eſtabliſhed againſt ſoldiers who quit their poſt, by putting him to death. And many other fathers, ſome for greater, and others for leſſer faults, have ſhewn neither mercy, nor compaſſion to their ſons: For this reaſon, I would not, as I ſaid, reject this account, as improbable. But the following arguments, which are of no ſmall weight, have a contrary influence, and lead me to the other opinion: The houſe of Caſſius, after his death, was demoliſhed; and, to this day, the place where it ſtood remains void, except that part of it, on

49. Τῷ Γαλλικῷ πολέμῳ. [m] Livy, who gives a very particular account of this tranſaction, ſays, it happened in the war with the Latines. On the other ſide, Salluſt, whom it is very poſſible our author followed, makes Cato ſay in his ſpeech to the ſenate, when the fate of Catiline's accomplices was in debate: *Apud majores noſtros Aulus (Titus) Manlius Torquatus* bello Gallico *filium ſuum, quod is contra imperium in hoſtem pugnaverat, necari juſſit.*

[m] B. viii. c. 7.

which

which the Romans, afterwards, built the temple of the Earth, which ſtands in the ſtreet leading to the [50] Carinae: And his fortune was alſo confiſcated; which the ſtate employed in founding the firſt offerings in different temples, and, alſo, in dedicating the brazen ſtatues to Ceres, which, [51] by their inſcriptions, ſhew of whoſe fortune they were the firſt offerings: Whereas, if his father had been the informer, the accuſer, and the executioner of his ſon, his houſe would not have been demoliſhed, nor his fortune confiſcated: For the Romans have nothing in property, during the lives of their fathers, who may diſpoſe both of the fortunes, and perſons of their ſons, as they think proper: So that, the ſtate would never have taken away, and confiſcated the fortune of the father, who had given information of the deſign of tyranny, for the offences of the ſon: For theſe reaſons, therefore, I prefer the former account: But I have mentioned both of them, to the end the reader may adhere to which he pleaſes.

LXXX. There being an attempt made by ſome people to involve the ſons of Caſſius in the puniſhment of their father, the ſenate looked upon it as a cruel, and pernicious precedent; and, being aſſembled, they ordered the youths to be acquitted, and to live with all impunity, without being ſubject to baniſhment, diſgrace, or any other calamity: And, from henceforth, this cuſtom was eſtabliſhed among the Romans, and is obſerved to this time, that the ſons

[50] Καρινας. See the 217th annotation on the firſt book.

[51] Ανδριανλας επιγραφαις δηλωνλας. Livy has given us the inſcription [n]: EX CASSIA FAMILIA DATVM.

[n] B. ii. c. 41.

ſhall

ſhall be exempt from all puniſhment, whoſe fathers are offenders, whether they happen to be the ſons of tyrants, of parricides, or of traitors, which, among them, is the greateſt of all offences. And thoſe, who attempted to aboliſh this cuſtom in our time, after the end of the Marſic, and civil wars, and prohibited the ſons of ſuch, as had been proſcribed by Sylla, from ſtanding candidates for their fathers honors, and from being admitted into the ſenate as long as their domination laſted, were looked upon to have been guilty of an action deſerving both the indignation of men, and the vengeance of the gods: For which reaſon, in proceſs of time, a blameleſs puniſhment, the avenger of their crimes, purſued them, by which they themſelves were brought down from the greateſt height of glory, to the loweſt degree of obſcurity; and none, even, of their race are now left, but women. However, [52] the perſon, who overcame theſe men, reſtored this cuſtom to its ancient vigor: This law is not in uſe among all [53] the Greeks; but ſome of them think

52. Ο τȣ̃τȣς καθελων. Le Jay ſays, in his marginal note, that the perſon here meant was Auguſtus. I think it was Julius Caeſar, who may be, properly, ſaid to have overcome the Syllan faction revived in Pompey, as the Marian faction revived in him. By the Cornelian law, enacted by [o] Sylla, when he was dictator, the ſons, and grandſons of the proſcribed were incapacitated to enjoy any magiſtracy. In contradiction to this law, [p] Julius Caeſar, when he was inveſted with the ſame dignity, admitted them to honors; *admiſit ad honores et proſcriptorum liberos.*

53. Παρ' Ελλησι. Sylburgius obſerves, from [q] Ariſtotle, that it was a cuſtom among the Greeks to put to death the innocent ſons of offenders; to which purpoſe the latter cites this verſe,

Νηπιος, ὁς πατερα κτεινας παιδας καταλειποι.

Sylburgius, alſo, cites the example of Achilles, who ſacrificed twelve Trojans to the manes of Patroclus. This laſt example does not ſeem much to the preſent purpoſe: However, the two French tranſlators have appropriated this note to themſelves, without any thanks to Sylburgius.

[o] Plutarch. Life of Sylla. [p] Suetonius Life of J. Caeſar, c. 41. [q] Ρητορ. B. i. & ii.

it

it reaſonable to put to death the ſons of tyrants, together with their fathers; and others puniſh them with perpetual baniſhment: As if it was contrary to the courſe of nature for virtuous ſons to be the offspring of wicked fathers, or wicked ſons of virtuous fathers. But, concerning theſe things, whether the Greek, or Roman cuſtom deſerves the preference, I leave to the conſideration of thoſe, who think fit to employ their thoughts that way: And, now, return to the ſubſequent events.

LXXXI. After the death of Caſſius, thoſe, who ſought to extend the power of the ariſtocracy, grew more daring, and ſhewed greater contempt of the plebeians: On the other ſide, the obſcure, and the lower ſort, were caſt down; and, finding themſelves, now, deprived of the beſt guardian of the plebeian party, accuſed themſelves of great folly in having condemned him. The cauſe of this was, that the conſuls did not carry the decree of the ſenate concerning the diviſion of lands into execution, by which they were directed to appoint the decemvirs to fix the bounds of the land, and to move the ſenate to determine how great a part of that land, and among whom, it ſhould be diſtributed. Upon which, numerous meetings were held by the people, where they, perpetually, complained of this impoſition, and accuſed the former tribunes of having betrayed the commonwealth. And the tribunes, now in charge, frequently aſſembled the people, and demanded a performance of thoſe promiſes. The conſuls, being informed of this, determined to remove the diſorderly, and tumultuous part of the people, under the color of a war:

For

For it happened that the territories of the commonwealth were, at that time, harraſſed with robberies, and incurſions from the neighbouring cities. To revenge theſe injuries, they expoſed the ſignals of war, and began to levy forces: But the poorer ſort refuſing to ſerve, and the conſuls finding themſelves unable to make uſe of the compulſion of the law againſt the diſobedient (for the tribunes defended the people, and were prepared to oppoſe any attempt to ſeize either the perſons, or the effects of thoſe, who refuſed to ſerve) after many threats againſt all, who ſhould excite the people to ſedition, they gave reaſon for a ſecret ſuſpicion that their deſign was to create a dictator; who, by abrogating the other magiſtracies, ſhould alone be inveſted with a tyrannical power, and ſubject to give no account of his conduct. As ſoon as the plebeians entertained this ſuſpicion, they, fearing leſt Appius, a fierce, and rigorous man, ſhould be the perſon appointed, reſolved to bear any ſeverity rather than this.

LXXXII. After the armies were raiſed, the conſuls led them out againſt the enemies. Cornelius made an irruption into the territories of the Veientes, and carried off all the booty they had left there: After which, the Veientes ſending embaſſadors, he gave them leave to redeem their priſoners, and made a truce with them for a year. Fabius, at the head of the other army, marched into the country of the Aequi; and, from thence, into That of the Volſci: Theſe ſuffered their lands to be plundered, and laid waſte, for ſome time; after which, deſpiſing the Romans, as their army was not

numerous, they ran to arms, and marched out of the territories of the Antiates, in a body, to the relief of their country; which was a reſolution taken with greater precipitation, than regard to their ſecurity. If, indeed, they had ſurpriſed the Romans, while they were diſperſed, they might have given them a great defeat: But the conſul, being informed of their approach by his ſcouts, ſuddenly called in his men, then diſperſed in pillaging, and drew them up in proper order. The Volſci, coming on with a contempt of the enemy, and with confidence, when, contrary to their opinion, they ſaw their whole army in a diſpoſition to receive them, they were ſtruck with fear at the unexpected ſight; and, without any conſideration of the common ſafety, every man conſulted his own: Turning back, therefore, they fled with all the ſpeed they could, ſome one way, and ſome another; and the greateſt part ſaved themſelves by retiring to the city of Antium: But a ſmall body of them, which was leaſt in diſorder, gained the top of a hill; and, ſtanding to their arms, continued in that poſture the following night. Some days after, the conſul having inveſted the hill with his forces, and ſecured every paſs with guards, they were compelled by hunger to ſurrender, and deliver up their arms: After which, he ordered the quaeſtors to ſell the booty he had taken, the ſpoils, and the priſoners, and to pay in the money to the treaſury: And, not long after, withdrawing his forces from the enemy's country, he returned with them to Rome, it being the end of the year. The election of magiſtrates drawing near, and the patricians,

patricians, perceiving the people were exaſperated, and repented of their having condemned Caſſius, reſolved to guard againſt them, leſt, by being flattered with the hopes of donatives, and of the Agrarian law by ſome powerful demagogue, ſupported with the dignity of conſul, they might create freſh diſturbances: And they judged that the moſt effectual means to prevent theſe deſires of the people was to raiſe their greateſt enemy to the conſulſhip: Having taken this reſolution, they ingaged Caeſo Fabius, one of the two perſons who had accuſed Caſſius, and brother to Quintus, who was then conſul; and, among the other patricians, Lucius Aemilius, one of the ariſtocratical party, to ſtand candidates for the conſulſhip. When theſe offered themſelves for that dignity, the plebeians had not power to hinder their election; but left the comitia, and withdrew from the field of Mars, where they were held: For, when the people were aſſembled in their centuries, the votes of the moſt conſiderable perſons, and of thoſe who had the greateſt fortunes, carried every queſtion: And it, rarely, happened that they had recourſe to the votes of thoſe of middling fortunes: And the laſt century, which was the moſt numerous, and in which the pooreſt of the plebeians gave their ſuffrages, had but one vote, [54] as I ſaid before, which was, always, the laſt called for.

LXXXIII. For theſe reaſons, therefore, Lucius Aemilius, the ſon of Mamercus, and Caeſo Fabius, the ſon of Caeſo, were created conſuls this year, being the two hundred and ſeventieth year from the building of Rome, when Nicodemus

54. Ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν εἰρήκαμεν. See the fifty ninth chapter of the ſeventh book.

was archon at Athens: Whoſe conſulſhip, according to their wiſh, happened not to be diſturbed with civil diſſenſions, the commonwealth being ſurrounded with foreign wars. In all nations, and places, as well among the Greeks, as Barbarians, a ceſſation from foreign evils produces civil, and domeſtic wars: And this happens, chiefly, to thoſe, who chuſe a military, and toilſome life, as they are actuated with a deſire of liberty, and dominion: For a ſpirit of ambition, confirmed by uſe, when reſtrained from its uſual employments, grows impatient. For which reaſon, the wiſeſt governors are, always, feeding the flames of ſome foreign quarrels, from a perſuaſion that it is better to make war in an enemy's country, than at home. It happened therefore, as I ſaid, very fortunately at that time for the conſuls, that the ſubjects of the Romans again took arms againſt them. For the Volſci, either relying on the domeſtic commotions of the Romans, and imagining the plebeians to be in a ſtate of war with the magiſtrates, or ſtung with the ſhame of their former defeat, received without ſtriking a ſtroke, or elated with the appearance of their forces, which were very numerous: Or induced by all theſe motives, reſolved to make war upon the Romans: And, drawing together the youth of all their cities, they marched, with one part of their army, againſt the towns of the Hernici, and Latines; and, with the other, which was the moſt numerous, and conſiſted of the beſt troops, they propoſed to receive the enemy, when they came to beſiege their own. The Romans, being informed of theſe things, determined to divide their army, alſo,

alſo, into two bodies; and, with one of them, to preſerve the territories of the Hernici, and the Latines from the inroads of the enemy; and, with the other, to lay waſte Thoſe of the Volſci.

LXXXIV. The conſuls having drawn lots for the command of the armies according to cuſtom, That of the body, deſigned to go to the relief of their allies, fell to Caeſo Fabius; and Lucius put himſelf at the head of the other, and marched towards Antium. When he drew near the hills, and had a view of the enemy's army, he, preſently, incamped oppoſite to them, upon an eminence. The following days, the enemy, frequently, quitted their camp; and, coming into the plain, challenged the conſul to fight, who, when he ſaw his time, led out his army; and, before they ingaged, he harangued his troops a conſiderable time; and, having encouraged them to do their duty, he ordered the trumpets to ſound a charge: And the ſoldiers, ſhouting as uſual, attacked in cloſe array, both horſe, and foot. After they had ſpent all their ſpears, and javelins, with the reſt of their miſſive weapons, they drew their ſwords, and cloſed; both ſides ſhewing an equal intrepidity, and eagerneſs for the victory. Their manner of fighting was, as I ſaid before, alike; and, neither the ſkill, and experience of the Romans in ingagements, by which they were, generally, victorious, nor their conſtancy, and endurance of toil, acquired by many battles, gave them any advantage upon this occaſion: For all theſe the enemy poſſeſſed, ſince they had been commanded by Marcius, the greateſt general among the Romans: But both

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ſtood firm, without quitting the ground, on which they, firſt, were placed. Afterwards, the Volſci began to retire a little, but in order, and in their ranks, and received the Romans as they preſſed upon them: But this was a ſtrategem to make theſe break their ranks, and to draw them to the foot of an eminence, from whence they might be charged with advantage.

LXXXV. The Romans, thinking they were beginning to fly, followed them ſlowly, and in good order alſo: But, when they ſaw them running towards their camp, they too, purſued them ſwiftly, and in diſorder: And thoſe, who were behind, and had the charge of the rear, began to ſtrip the dead, as if they had, already, conquered; and ran to plunder the country. The Volſci no ſooner obſerved this, but ſuch, as had feigned a flight, faced about as ſoon as they approached their intrenchments, and ſtood their ground; and, at the ſame time, thoſe, who had been left to guard the camp, opened the gates, and ran out in great numbers from ſeveral parts. And, now, the fortune of the day was turned; the purſuers fled, and the fugitives purſued. Here many brave Romans loſt their lives, as may well be imagined, being forced down a deſcent, and a few incompaſſed by many: The others, who had employed themſelves in ſpoiling the dead, and in plundering, ſuffered the ſame fate, being deprived of the opportunity of making an orderly, and regular retreat: For theſe, being intercepted by the enemy, ſome of them were killed, and others made priſoners: And as many as were ſaved both of theſe, and of the others, who had

had been forced down the hill, the horſe coming to their relief, returned to the camp, when it was late. A violent ſtorm of rain burſting from the clouds, and a darkneſs, like That produced by thick miſts, ſeemed to have preſerved them from being all put to the ſword; which made the enemy unwilling to purſue them any farther, as they were unable to ſee what paſſed at a diſtance. The following night, the conſul decamped, and drew off his army in ſilence, and good order, with a deſign to conceal his march from the enemy; and, late in the evening, he incamped near a town, called Longula, chuſing an eminence of ſtrength ſufficient to keep off the enemy, if theſe ſhould attack him. While he remained there, he employed himſelf both in recovering the wounded with proper remedies, and in raiſing the ſpirits of thoſe, who were diſheartened with the ſhame of their unexpected defeat, by adminiſtring comfort to them.

LXXXVI. This was the condition of the Romans. As for the Volſci, when it was day, and they knew the enemy had left their camp, they advanced, and formed theirs: And, having ſtripped the dead, and carried off thoſe, who, though half-dead, gave hopes of life, and buried their own men, they retired to Antium, the city that lay next to them; where, ſinging ſongs of triumph for their victory, and offering ſacrifices in all their temples, they paſſed the following days in entertainments, and pleaſures. If, therefore, they had been contented with this victory, and attempted nothing further, they might have put an end to the war with advantage:

vantage: For the Romans would not have dared, any more, to come out of their camp to give them battle; but would have thought themſelves happy in being able to retire out of the enemy's country, and have preferred an inglorious flight, to certain death: But the Volſci, aiming ſtill at more, loſt even the glory of their former victory: For, being informed by their ſcouts, and by deſerters, that the Romans, who had ſaved themſelves, were very few in number, and the greateſt part of theſe wounded, they entertained a great contempt of them, and, preſently, took their arms, and ran to attack them: Many unarmed people, alſo, came out of the city, and followed them, as ſpectators of the ingagement, and from an expectation of plunder, and booty. But, when arrived at the eminence, they inveſted the camp, and endeavoured to pull up the paliſades, firſt the Roman horſe, obliged, from the nature of the ground, to fight on foot, ſallied out upon them; and, behind the horſe, thoſe they call the Triarii, with their files doubled: Theſe are the oldeſt ſoldiers, to whom they commit the guard of the camp when they go out to fight, and, to theſe, as to their laſt hope, they are forced to have recourſe, when there happens any great ſlaughter of the younger ſort, for want of other ſuccour. The Volſci, at firſt, ſuſtained their onſet, and continued the fight for a long time with great bravery: After which, having the diſadvantage of the ground, they gave way; and, at laſt, after they had done ſmall damage to the enemy, and That not worth mentioning, and they themſelves ſuffered a much greater, they retired to the plain:

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Where they incamped the following days, and often drew up in order of battle, challenging the Romans to fight: But theſe ſtirred not out of their camp. When the Volſci ſaw this, they held them in contempt; and, ſending for the forces of all their cities, prepared to force their camp by numbers; and they might, eaſily, have performed a great action, by taking both the conſul, and the Roman army either by force, or compoſition (for there was a want of proviſions in the camp) had they not been prevented by the ſuccours received by the Romans, which hindered the Volſci from putting an end to the war with the greateſt glory: For the other conſul, Caeſo Fabius, hearing to what ſtreights the army, which had been ingaged with the Volſci, was reduced, propoſed to march, that inſtant, with all his forces, and fall upon thoſe, who were beſieging the camp; but, while he was offering ſacrifice, and conſulting the augurs, it happened that the victims, and omens were not favourable; and the gods oppoſing his march, he himſelf ſtaid behind; however, he ſent his beſt ſquadrons of horſe to his collegue: Theſe, taking by-roads, and marching, generally, in the night, got into the camp without being perceived by the enemy. The arrival of theſe ſuccours gave new life to Aemilius. On the other ſide, the enemy, emboldened both by the encreaſe of their forces, and becauſe the Romans did not come out to fight, doubled their files, and began to aſcend the eminence: The Romans, ſuffered them to come up at their leiſure, and to ſpend their ſtrength in endeavouring to pull up the paliſades; but, when the ſignal of battle was

given, they threw down the intrenchments in ſeveral places, and fell upon the enemy; and thoſe, who came to a cloſe fight with them, made uſe of their ſwords, while others threw ſtones, javelins, and ſpears at them from the intrenchments, none of which miſſed their mark, the enemy being crouded in a narrow compaſs. By this means, the Volſci were forced from the hill with conſiderable loſs; and, flying, ſaved themſelves with great difficulty by retiring to their camp. The Romans, finding themſelves now ſecure, went down to harraſs their country, from whence they ſupplied their camp with every thing they wanted.

LXXXVII. When the time for the election of magiſtrates was come, Aemilius ſtaid in the camp, being aſhamed to enter the city after his ignominious defeat, in which he had loſt the beſt part of his army; but his collegue, leaving his inferior officers to command in the camp, went to Rome; and, aſſembling the people in order to the election, he declined propoſing thoſe perſons, on whom they deſired the conſulſhip ſhould be conferred, who were conſular perſons, ſince theſe were unwilling to ſtand for it; but called the centuries to give their ſuffrages in favor of ſuch as ſought that dignity, and took their votes. Theſe were the men the ſenate had made choice of, and ordered to ſtand for the conſulſhip, who were not very agreeable to the people. By this means, Marcus Fabius, ſon of Caeſo, the younger brother of the conſul, who preſided at the election, and [55] Lucius Valerius, the ſon of Marcus, the ſame perſon who had brought Caſſius

55· Λευκιος Ουαλεριος Μαρκυ υἱος. See the firſt annotation on the ſeventh book.

to

to his trial, after he had been thrice conſul, for aiming at tyranny, and cauſed him to be put to death, were choſen conſuls for the following year. Theſe, having taken poſſeſſion of their dignity, deſired the ſenate to order that recruits might be raiſed to replace thoſe, who had loſt their lives in the war againſt the Antiates, that the deficiencies in the ſeveral companies might be completed; and, having obtained a decree of the ſenate for that purpoſe, they appointed a day, on which they ordered all, who were of the military age, to appear. Upon this, there was a great tumult in every part of the city, and ſeditious diſcourſes were held by the poorer ſort, who refuſed either to comply with the orders of the ſenate, or to obey the commands of the conſuls, becauſe they had violated the promiſes made to them concerning the diviſion of the lands; and, going in great numbers to the tribunes, they upbraided them with treachery; and, with great clamors, implored their aſſiſtance. The tribunes, in general, did not think it a proper ſeaſon, when they were ingaged in a foreign war, to renew the flames of civil conteſts: However, one of them, by name Caius Manius, ſaid, that, for his part, he would not betray the plebeians, nor ſuffer the conſuls to raiſe an army, unleſs they ſhould, firſt, appoint commiſſioners for fixing the bounds of the public lands, draw up the decree of the ſenate for the diviſion of them, and lay it before the people. The conſuls oppoſing this, and excuſing themſelves, on account of the preſent war, from granting any thing he deſired, the tribune replied that he would pay no regard to them, but hinder them, with all

his power, from making levies: And he kept his word; but could not effect what he propoſed: For the conſuls, going out of the city, ordered their conſular chairs to be placed in the adjacent field, and there inliſted the ſoldiers; and, ſince it was not in their power to ſeize the perſons of ſuch, as refuſed obedience to the laws, they fined them; and, if they were owners of eſtates, they laid them waſte, and demoliſhed their country houſes; and, if farmers, they carried away every thing, that was neceſſary for their employment, their oxen, cattle, beaſts of burden, and all the implements, with which the land is tilled, and their crops brought home; the tribune, who oppoſed the raiſing of men, having, no longer, any power: For thoſe, who are inveſted with the tribuneſhip, can exerciſe no kind of authority without the city; their juriſdiction being confined within the walls; neither is it lawful for them even to paſs a night out of the city, unleſs at a particular time, when all the magiſtrates of the commonwealth offer up a common ſacrifice to Jupiter upon the Alban hill, for the proſperity of the Latin nation. This cuſtom, by which the tribunes are not allowed to exerciſe any ſort of authority without the city, continues to this day. And the cauſe, among many others, of the civil war among the Romans, which happened in our time, and was the greateſt they were ever ingaged in, was thought to be this, which appeared of conſequence enough to divide the commonwealth; that ſome of the tribunes, complaining of their having been forci-

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bly driven out of the city by the [56] person, who then governed Italy, in order to deprive them of any further power, fled to the [57] general, who, at that time, commanded the armies

56. Προς τȣ τοτε κατεχοντος τα κατα την Ιταλιαν. So we must read this sentence with the Vatican manuscript. Le Jay must have been very little acquainted with the transactions of this important period, to say, in his note upon this passage, that some particular discontent must have obliged Pompey to drive the tribunes out of Rome; *il faut que quelque mécontentement particulier eûst obligé Pompée de chasser de Rome les tribuns.* This particular discontent, as he calls it, was nothing less than the intercession of the tribunes to the decree of the senate, by which Caesar was commanded to disband his army. These tribunes, fearing the resentment of the senate on account of their intercession, fled from Rome, and went to Caesar, complaining, as our author says, that Pompey, or, which is the same thing, the senate by his direction, had forced them to leave the city. This will be explained in the following note.

57. Επι τον εν τῃ Γαλατιᾳ τα στρατοπεδα κατεχοντα. Caesar himself is the last author we must consult, if we have a mind to unfold his ambitious views, and to strip them of the false colors, with which he, all along, endeavours to disguise them from the eyes both of the age he lived in, and of posterity. In his history of the civil wars, he, indeed, relates the facts, but conceals the motives; particularly his own; and gives false motives, and private views to all his opposers: Thus he says that Cato opposed him, from an ancient enmity, and the resentment of his repulse; [r] *Catonem veteres inimicitiae Caesaris incitant, et dolor repulsae:* He means the repulse Cato met with by the means of Caesar, and his friends, when he stood candidate for the praetorship. The reason why Pompey, and Crassus, then consuls, and acting in conjunction with Caesar, would not suffer Cato to obtain that dignity, is very well explained by [s] Dion Cassius: They suspected that he would not bear their administration, and were unwilling to add a legal power to his opposition, ὑπωπτευον τε γαρ αυτον ȣκ ανεξεσθαι τα γινομενα, και ȣκ εθελησαν ισχυν αυτῳ εννομον προς τας αντιλογιας προσθειναι. If, therefore, we are to believe Caesar, he himself was the patriot, who had no other view than to support the laws of his country; and Cato was his opposer, from no other motive than private enmity, and resentment. This endeavour in Caesar to justify himself shews there is such a native beauty in virtue, that the most profligate men are desirous to shelter themselves under the appearance of it. Caesar had the same advantage with many other men, who have done bad things with worse motives; and then justified themselves by saying that what they did was according to the laws of their country: This is catching at the forms of law, and losing the spirit of it; in consequence

[r] B. i. c. 4. [s] B. xxxix. p. 117.

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in Gaul, as to their only refuge: Who, laying hold on this opportunity, and pretending to ſupport, with piety and

of which, ſuch men have often (though not often enough) felt, at laſt, the weight of both. [t] When the ſenate paſſed the memorable decree, by which Caeſar was ordered to diſband his legions, and Pompey to keep his on foot, only two ſenators diſſented, Caecilius, an obſcure man, and Curio, a creature of Caeſar, from whom he had brought a plauſible letter to the ſenate. Notwithſtanding this almoſt unanimous conſent of the ſenate, the decree could not regularly paſs, becauſe two of the tribunes of the people interceded, as they called it, that is, they oppoſed it: Theſe were Antony, afterwards ſo much known, and Quintus (not Caius) Caſſius. This they, certainly, had a power to do by law: Nay the interceſſion of a ſingle tribune was ſufficient to obſtruct a decree of the ſenate. Their oppoſition, therefore, was conſtitutional: But the diſregard ſhewn by the ſenate to their oppoſition was, certainly, not ſo; much leſs the threats of the ſenate againſt theſe oppoſers, and their expelling them afterwards. The tribunes, apprehending the conſequence of theſe threats, left Rome together with Curio, and Caecilius; and went to Caeſar, who was then, as [u] he ſays, at Ravenna. This irregular, and, if I may call it ſo, injudicious proceeding of the ſenate gave an appearance of law, and popularity to the enterpriſe of Caeſar, who, though he made the moſt of this oppreſſion of the tribunes, as he terms it, would, in all probability, have invaded his country, if his adverſaries had never furniſhed him with ſo plauſible a pretence. That he magnified this circumſtance appears from his ſpeech to his ſoldiers, when he is begging them, in other words, to aſſiſt him againſt his country: He there complains of this innovation, by which the tribunitian interceſſion was cenſured with arms, and oppreſſed; [w] *novum in republicâ introductum exemplum queritur, ut tribunitia interceſſio armis notaretur, atque opprimeretur.* This had the deſired effect with his ſoldiers, who cried out that they were ready to revenge the injuries done to their general, and to the tribunes; *ſeſe paratos eſſe imperatoris ſui tribunorumque plebis injurias defendere.* If I ſaid that the uſe made by Caeſar of this flight of the tribunes was only a pretence to cover his own ambition, I am juſtified in it by his conduct, not long after, to two other tribunes of the people: [x] Theſe were C. Epidius, and L. Ceſitius Flaccus, who, not only, proſecuted one of his mob for calling him king, but cauſed public notice to be given, that they could not perform the duties of their function with freedom, and ſecurity: Theſe tribunes he procured the ſenate to depoſe, and expel out of their houſe; which they had no more power to do, than they had, before, to paſs a decree for the expulſion of the other tribunes: But theſe he protected, becauſe they ſerved his ambition; and puniſhed the former, becauſe they oppoſed it.

[t] Dion Caſſius, B. xli. p. 171. [u] B. i. c. 5. [w] Id. ib. c. 7. [x] Dion Caſſius, B. xliv. p. 277.

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juſtice, the ſacred magiſtrates of the people, who had been deprived of their authority, contrary to the oaths of the ancient Romans, he himſelf entered the city in arms, and reſtored the tribunes to the functions of their magiſtracy.

LXXXVIII. The plebeians, finding, upon the occaſion I before mentioned, no relief from the Tribunitian power, were humbled; and, coming to the perſons appointed to raiſe the levies, took the ſacred oath, and liſted under their enſigns. When the deficiencies in the ſeveral companies were completed, the conſuls drew lots for the command of the armies: To Fabius was allotted the army, which had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of their allies: And to Valerius That, which lay incamped in the country of the Volſci, to which were added the new levies. When the enemy were informed of his arrival, they reſolved to ſend for another army, to incamp in a place of greater ſtrength, and not, raſhly, to expoſe themſelves to the ſame danger, from a contempt of the Romans. Theſe reſolutions were ſoon executed, and the generals of both armies entertained the ſame opinion of the war; which was to defend their own intrenchments if they were attacked, but not to attempt Thoſe of the enemy, from an expectation of carrying them by aſſault; and the fear of attempting any thing againſt each other kept them both inactive, for a conſiderable time: However, they were not able to continue their reſolutions to the laſt: For, whenever any detachments were ſent out to bring in proviſions, or any thing elſe, that was neceſſary to both armies, theſe met, and fought, the ſame detachments

not

not having, always, the ſame advantage; and theſe ſkirmiſhes happening often, not a few were killed, and more wounded. But the Romans received no ſuccours from any parts to replace their numbers, that were continually leſſening; while the army of the Volſci was greatly encreaſed by the arrival of freſh forces ſucceſſively; and their generals, elated with this, led out their army with a reſolution to fight.

LXXXIX. The Romans having done the ſame, and drawn up their forces, a ſharp ingagement inſued, as well of the horſe, as of the foot, and the light armed men, all ſhewing equal valor, and experience, and every man placing his hopes of victory in himſelf alone. By this time, many, fallen on the ſpot where they had been placed, lay dead on both ſides, and many more half dead; and thoſe, who continued the fight, and yet faced the dangers of the field, were reduced to a ſmall number; and even theſe not capable of performing their duty, while their ſhields, loaded with the darts that ſtuck in them, weighed down their left hands, and would not ſuffer them to ſuſtain the onſet of the enemy; the edge of their ſwords was blunted, and ſome of them were ſhivered to pieces, and now uſeleſs; and the toil, which to thoſe who had fought the whole day, was exceſſive, ſlackened their ſinews, and weakened their ſtrokes; and ſweat, thirſt, and want of breath, all which muſt happen to ſuch, as fight long in the ſuffocating heat of ſummer, afflicting both armies, the event of the battle was, in no degree, conſiderable; and both, as ſoon as their generals ordered a retreat to be ſounded, willingly returned to

their

their camps. From this time, neither ventured out to fight; but, ſitting ſtill, obſerved each other's motions, when any went out for neceſſaries. It was thought, however, and the report was common at Rome, that the Roman army had it, then, in their power to conquer; but declined performing any great action, from their hatred to the conſul, and their reſentment againſt the patricians, for having impoſed upon them in regard to the diviſion of the public lands: And the ſoldiers themſelves, ſending letters to their friends, accuſed the conſul, as unfit to command. Theſe were the tranſactions in the field: But in Rome itſelf divers prodigies happened, which manifeſted the divine wrath, both by voices, and unuſual ſights: All which concurred in this (as the augurs, and the interpreters of holy things, by aſſiſting one another with their experience, declared) that ſome of the gods were diſpleaſed, becauſe they did not receive their cuſtomary honors, neither was their worſhip performed with purity, and ſanctity. Upon this, ſtrict inquiry was made by every one; and, at laſt, the pontifs were informed that one of the veſtals, who preſerve the holy fire, by name, [58] Opimia, had loſt her virginity, and polluted the holy rites: The pontifs, having by tortures, and other proofs, found the information to be true, took from her head the fillets; and, conducting her through the forum, buried her alive within the walls of the city; and, cauſing the two men, who had

[58] Οπιμια. [y] Livy calls this veſtal virgin, *Oppia.*

[y] B. ii. c. 42.

been convicted of debauching her, to be whipped in public, they ordered them, preſently, to be put to death. After which, the ſacrifices, and the auguries were favourable, the wrath of the gods being appeaſed.

XC. When the time for the election of magiſtrates was come, and the conſuls were returned to Rome, there was a great conteſt, and ſtruggle between the people, and the patricians, concerning the perſons, who were to be inveſted with the ſupreme magiſtracy: For the latter deſired to promote to the conſulſhip ſuch of the young men, as were active, and leaſt inclined to the intereſt of the plebeians; and, by their direction, the ſon of Appius Claudius, who was eſteemed the greateſt enemy of the people, ſtood for that dignity; a perſon exceſſively proud and daring, and the moſt powerful man of his time by the number of his friends, and clients. On the other ſide, the people named ſuch of the elder ſenators, and of thoſe, who had, already, given proofs of their moderation, as were likely to conſult the good of the commonwealth; and deſired to make them conſuls. The magiſtrates were, alſo, divided, and ſought to invalidate one another's authority: For, when the conſuls aſſembled the people, in order to name the candidates for the conſulſhip, the tribunes, in virtue of their power to forbid all proceedings, diſmiſſed the comitia: And again, when theſe aſſembled the people to chuſe their magiſtrates, the conſuls would not ſuffer them to proceed, ſince they had the power of calling the centuries together, and

of

of giving them their votes. Mutual accuſations, and continual quarrels paſſed between them; each ſide being ſupported by thoſe of their own faction: So that, even, blows were exchanged in their paſſion; and the ſeditious were very near proceeding to arms. The ſenate, being informed of theſe things, deliberated, for a long time, what courſe to take in this juncture, being neither able to force the people to a ſubmiſſion, nor willing to ſubmit to them. Thoſe, who were for carrying things with a high hand, adviſed to create a dictator on account of the election, one, whom they ſhould moſt approve of; and that the perſon inveſted with this power ſhould baniſh the authors of this diſtemper; and, if the former magiſtrates had been guilty of any fault, that he ſhould reform it; and, after he had regulated the government in ſuch a manner, as he ſhould think fit, appoint the beſt men to be magiſtrates. But the more moderate propoſed to chuſe interreges, conſiſting of the moſt ancient, and the moſt dignified ſenators; who ſhould be directed to take care that the election of magiſtrates be carried on in the beſt manner, as it was, formerly, practiſed after the demiſe of their kings. This advice being approved of by the majority, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus was created interrex by the ſenate; and all the other magiſtracies ceaſed. After he had governed the commonwealth without any ſedition, as many days as he was authorized by his commiſſion, he appointed another interrex, according to their cuſtom, and named Spurius Lartius to that dignity; who, aſſembling the

people in their centuries, and giving them their votes according to the valuation of their fortunes, returned for conſuls, with the approbation of both parties, [59] Caius Julius, ſurnamed Iulus, a man in the intereſt of the people; and Quintus Fabius, the ſon of Caeſo, for the ſecond time, who was in That of the ariſtocracy. The people, who had not been ill treated by him in his former conſulſhip, ſuffered him to obtain this honor a ſecond time, through their hatred to Appius, and the great ſatisfaction they received from his diſgrace: And the ariſtocratical party, who had concerted meaſures to advance to the conſulſhip a man of activity, and one, who ſhould relax in nothing to the people, looked upon the event of the ſedition to have been favourable to their deſigns.

XCI. During the conſulſhip of theſe perſons, the Aequi, making a predatory irruption into the territories of the Latines, carried off a great number of ſlaves, and cattle: And a people of Tyrrhenia, called the Veientes, plundered a great part of the country belonging to the Romans. The ſenate reſolved to put off the war againſt the Aequi, and to demand ſatisfaction of the Veientes. The former, finding their firſt attempt ſucceſsful, and that no one appeared to obſtruct them in the proſecution of it, grew elated with a groundleſs preſumption; and, reſolving to act, no longer,

59. Γαιον Ιυλιον τον επικαλουμενον Ιυλον. So we muſt read this paſſage with the Vatican manuſcript; becauſe he is called C. Julius Iulus in the *Faſti conſulares*.

like

like robbers, they marched with a numerous army to [60] Hortona, and took it by ſtorm; and, after they had plundered both the country, and the city, returned home with a great booty: As to the Veientes, the anſwer they gave to the Roman embaſſadors was, that the people, who had laid waſte their country, did not belong to their nation, but to the other Tyrrhenian cities; and, then, diſmiſſed them, without giving them any ſort of ſatisfaction: And the embaſſadors, in their return, met the Veientes, as they were bringing home the booty they had taken in the Roman territories. The ſenate, being informed of theſe things from the embaſſadors, came to a reſolution, not only, to declare war againſt the Veientes, but that both the conſuls ſhould command their army. This reſolution of the ſenate raiſed a great conteſt, and many oppoſed their ingaging in this war; and put the plebeians in mind of the diviſion of the public lands, of which they had been defrauded after a vain hope, notwithſtanding the decree of the ſenate, paſſed near five years before for carrying it into execution: They ſhewed them, alſo, that the war they were going to declare, would become a general war, if all Tyrrhenia, by joint conſent, ſhould reſolve to aſſiſt their countrymen. However, theſe ſeditious repreſentations had no effect; the people confirmed the decree of the ſenate, purſuant to the opinion, and advice

60. Ὀρλωνα. [z] Cluver has ſhewn that we ought thus to read the name of this town, which the Romans called *Hortona*, a city of the Latines near Prænesteſte.

[z] B. iii. p. 969.

of

of Spurius Lartius. Upon which, the conſuls marched out with their forces, and incamped apart, at no great diſtance from the city of Veii: And, after they had continued there ſeveral days, and the enemy did not come out to fight them, they ravaged as great a part of their country as they could, and returned home with the army. And nothing elſe worth notice happened, during their conſulſhip.

The end of the Eighth Book.

ERRATA in VOL. III.

PAGE 1. L. 4. For *in which*. Read *at which*.
P. 2. laſt line. f. ſuperintendance. r. ſuperintendence.
P. 17. L. 5. f. Licinnius. r. Licinius.
P. 35. L. 12. f. Malachus. r. Malacus.
P. 42. L. 6. f. of. r. on.
P. 46. Note 20. no point after Σειστα.
P. 50. L. 5. f. Echetrani. r. Ecetrani.
P. 53. L 3. f. in which, r. at which.
P. 64. laſt line but three. f. they. r. the Æqui.
P. 74. laſt line but three. f. dependance. r. dependence.
P. 75. L. 10. for in which. r. at which.
P. 87. laſt line but two. f. avaritious. r. avaricious.
P. 93. Column 2. L. 5. f. Gelon. r. Gelo.
P. 109. L. 18. f. theſe. r. them.
P. 129. L. 2. a comma after *thing*.
P. 141. laſt line but three. f. The Women, alſo. r. Even the women.
P. 146. L. 2. f. ſuperintendance. r. ſuperintendence.
P. 152. L. 1. f. Licinnius r. Licinius.
P. 159. laſt line but one. dele. *own*.
P. 161. laſt line but one. no comma after *thoſe*.
P. 165. L. 11. f. umbrellos. r. umbrellas.
P. 177. L. 2. f. or. r. nor.
P. 191. L. 12 and 16. f. ediles. r. ædiles.
Ib. laſt line but one. f. plebeians. r. patricians.
P. 192. L. 15. for the firſt *they*. r. the patricians.
Ib. L. 22 and 25. f. ediles. r. ædiles.
P. 193. L. 18. f. devaſtatations. r. devaſtations.
P. 195. L. 7. a comma after *proof*, and then inſert *by*.
P. 202. L. 13. f. the. r. their.
Ib. L. 19 and laſt. f. ediles. r. ædiles.
P. 203. L. 1 and 6. f. of. r. on.
P. 208. C. 2. L. 7. f. ediles. r. ædiles.
P. 214. laſt line but two. f. plebians. r. plebeians.
Ib. laſt line. f. to this place. r. in this place.
P. 215. L. 10. f. ſecreſy r. ſecrecy.
P. 216. L. 1. a comma after *thoſe*.
P. 223. L. 7. f. deſire. r. intreat.
P. 235. L. 4. a comma after *and*. and f. that. r. ſince.
P. 237. L. 5 and 6. f. by another, that. r. by that, which.
Ib. L. 11. f. dependants. r. dependents.
P. 243. L. 10. f. ſeperate. r. ſeparate.
P. 252. L. 14. f. of. r. on.
P. 253. L. 1. f. Marcius r. : And.
Ib. L. 2. after *deſired*. r. he.
P. 261. laſt line. f. ſeperated. r. ſeparated.
P. 265. laſt line but three. f. For. r. Since.
P. 273. L. 11. f. hand and hand. r. hand in hand.
P. 277. L. 17. and 21. f. facrificed and facrifice. r. facrifiſed and facrifiſe.
Ib. laſt line. f. flayed. r. fleaed.
P. 286. L. 18. f. great expence. r. vaſt expence.
P. 289. L. 4. f. Volſcians. r. Volſci.
Ib. L. 21. f. Echetra. r. Ecetra.
P. 299. L. 21. after *approving*. r. of.
P. 307. L. 22. f. conquerers. r. conquerors.
P. 310. L. 9. a comma after *walls*.
P. 311. C. 1. L. 12. after *and*, inſert *now ſays*.
Ib. C. 2. L. 17. after *he*. r. had.
P. 338. L. 18. f. Longola. r. Longula. (and in the note.
Ib. laſt line. f. Echetra. r. Ecetra.
P. 362. L. 15. f. facrifice. r. facrifiſe.
P. 382. L. 9. f. cowardice. r. cowardiſe.
Ib. L. 15. confider. r. conſider.
P. 388. L. 12. f. him. r. his perſon.
P. 403. C. 1. L. 3. f. whic is. r. which is.
P. 426. L. 6. f. in. r. into.
P. 435. L. 3. no comma after *even*.

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